



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SACCO/VANZETTI CASE

PART 13 OF 14

FILE NUMBER : 61-126

SUBJECT

Sacco/Vanzetti

FILE NUMBER

61-126

SECTION NUMBER

11

SERIALS

831 -

Forward original and four copies to Office of Naval Intelligence, for Monograph, Port Directory, Bulletin, General Circulation, etc.

Serial No. 61-25

FILE NO. (from index sheet) 100-207

[illegible]

DATE - CHARACTERISTICS - PERIODS UNTIL COV. ENDED.

The following is a transcript of a meeting held this date under the auspices of the International Labor Defense at the corner of 16th Street and Broadway Oakland, Calif. The first speaker was Edgar Ogden, he gave a long account of the trial of Brockton Smith and a short account in Massachusetts. Some made the following points: that the Smiths were not spies because they were killed, not because they were guilty of the crime charged.

The next speaker was a man by the name of Stainoff. He came from Los Angeles in connection with a Negro-Caucasian protest meeting. He admitted that he is a member of the "Workers (Communist) Party of America. He made a strong plea that all workers organize, preferably in the Communist Party, for the purpose of preventing the prosecution of these so-called racial activities.

He was followed by two women, one of whom is said to be a student in the University of Cincinnati. During the time these two women spoke the ladies were said to be conferring with some of the more influential members of the local Communist group and it was important to know the nature of some of the women or what they said.

The first speaker was Jack Allington. He made a brief talk in behalf of the cause.

[illegible]

Stamps make the same point, and claim that the execution of Stoen and Vannetti would bring in a whole lot of Communist party. He is just one of the thousands who say "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church", and I will phrase that as say "The blood of those who are killed in the name of the Communist Party in this case, will be the seed of a crop of Vannettis." Would liberal Americans, who are not Communist, be so concerned directly or indirectly with the trial and execution of Stoen and Vannetti.

...and advised the witnesses that they must
...as the Commission of such enormous authority as the
...the power to do this
...the power to do this
...the power to do this

...at the ... of ... and There were very ...
... a number of ...

[illegible]

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

Forward original and copies to: Director, Central Intelligence Agency, for Monograph, Out-Expenditure, Bulletin, General Circulation, etc.

SERIAL NO. 30

File No. (from index sheet) 822-365

U.S. SECRET SERVICE, 1942. Date 29 August 1942.
Name of Intelligence Officer: [redacted] Name: J. C. [redacted] P.A.
Source: [redacted] Reliability of source (mark on scale 4.0): 4.0
Subject: [redacted] (mark on scale 4.0): 4.0

(Author)

(Editor)

(Subject)

RECEIVED - COMMUNICATIONS - RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

RECEIVED - COMMUNICATIONS - RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

7 August 1942.

The following is a report of a meeting of the Bell Telephone Club, and was held at the Bell Telephone Club, 703 Madison Avenue, New York City, on August 7, 1942.

The club is a social organization for the Bell Telephone Club, and was held at the Bell Telephone Club, 703 Madison Avenue, New York City, on August 7, 1942.

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This report differs from previous ones in that the O. N. I. routing form is not attached. It is suggested that the routing form be attached to all reports of this nature.

INTELLIGENCE REPORT.

Forward original and four copies to Office of Naval Intelligence, for Memorandum, Part Division, I. Radio, General Classification, etc.

42-13

File No. (from index sheet) 103-200

SERIAL NO.	103-200
U.S.S.	Place
Name of Intelligence Officer	Name of C. O.
Source	Reliability of source (mark on scale 4.0) 4.0
Subject	

CONTRACTS - CONTRACTS - CONTRACTS

CONTRACTS AND CONTRACTS

The following is a report of a Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting held at 703 Pershing Street, Oakland, this date, and a meeting of the Daily Worker Builders Club of Labeled Society.

The Daily Worker Builders Club met at 7:30 P.M. Ross Paul acting as chairman and Beck as secretary.

As soon as the meeting convened John Beck of 401 Boylston Street advised that he had been confidentially informed that the Oakland police department was raiding the hall at 703 Pershing Street, and he did not bring any of his records with him. He further stated that there would be a detail of police who would attend the Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting. He warned all concerned to be careful as to what they said and did lest they be arrested. He appeared to have considerable inside information as to what the police contemplated doing and how they will do it.

The general portion of the Daily Worker Builders Club meeting was taken up in discussing the entertainment given the evening before. It appears that this entertainment will not come 40. or 50.00. This money will be used for the benefit of the Daily Worker Party and the Communist Party of the United States. The Daily Worker Builders Club of Labeled Society is not getting sufficient publicity in the Daily Worker. A discussion was held to elect a committee of three to report on the matter and any such other information as may be used to the advantage of the Daily Worker. Ross Paul, J. K. Chapple and Edward Carter were elected on this committee.

The Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting started at about 8 P.M. Edward Carter was the chairman of this meeting. He informed the audience that the meeting had been called for the purpose of further demonstrating a protest against the unfair treatment of Sacco-Vanzetti. There were a number of workers. Among them was Miss C. Whitney. She spoke for a few moments and was very general what she said. She was followed by Florence Thompson of 1010 14th Street, Oakland. Miss Thompson is recognized as one of the active workers in the Communist movement. It is said that she is or recently has been a student in the University of California. She spoke for a few moments on the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Mr. Edith Carter was a man by the name of Lirioff. He recently came from Los Angeles where it is stated he was arrested in connection with a Sacco-Vanzetti protest meeting. He loudly announced all present dangers or indirectly connected with the trial and execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. He had a strong plea that all workers organize, preferably in the Communist Party, for the purpose of preventing the prosecution of these accused of political activities. He stated that if the workers will properly organize and accept themselves that in the course of their events and their duties of the day will be a further workers' struggle, similar to the present Soviet Union of Russia.

The principal speaker of the evening was Louis, and

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

September 2, 1927.

61-126

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER

As of possible interest to you,
I am attaching hereto a copy of a news-
paper, "Daily Worker" dated Wednesday,
August 24, 1927, and invite your atten-
tion to the article entitled "Fuller Of-
fered L. or J. Files; Rejected Them", which
is indicated by red crayon marks.

Respectfully,

Louis H. Clegg
for

W. M. MacFarland

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-801/ma

RECORDED & INDEXED

SEP 23 1927

61-126-831X

BUREAU	
SEP 28 1927	
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Enc. One	

FULLER OFFERED D. OF J. FILES; REJECTED THEM

WASHINGTON, Aug. 23.—Working desperately against time, Gov. Fuller of Massachusetts today refused attorneys of international fame here in Washington but a few hours before the electrocution of Sacco and Vanzetti, seeking to pry open the files in the department of justice. They were Frank P. Walsh, who gained renown as chairman of the industrial relations commission; Arthur Garfield Hays, New York attorney for the Civil Liberties Union; and Francis Fisher Kane, former U. S. district attorney at Philadelphia.

Put it up to Fuller.

Following a three-hour conference with Acting Attorney General Farnum, they wrung from him consent for Governor Fuller, President Lowell of Massachusetts to inspect the department's files relating to the case. An entire floor in the department's building is devoted to the storage of files concerning the deportation deliriums of 1919-1921.

Telegrams were dispatched immediately to Governor Fuller and to President Lowell, asking them to inspect the files and appealing for a reprieve. The statement of the defense counsel with the telegrams were released to the press associations through Federated Press.

Governor Fuller's laconic refusal to do anything that might interfere with the electrocution of innocent men is now known to the world.

The department, through J. Edgar Hoover, chief of its bureau of investigation, on the same day permitted the release of an inspired story by William Hard explaining what it chose to regard as its attitude toward Sacco and Vanzetti. Hoover, although not quoted directly, adopts the same attitude he held in an interview obtained recently by Federated Press. It is that:

Sacco and Vanzetti were under surveillance as members of the Galleshi group of anarchists. The department already had Salsedo and Kila, other members, in custody. Salsedo was either murdered or committed suicide while in jail. Kila was deported.

The department, according to Hoover, is anxious to have its files inspected by Fuller or Lowell. The world, which cannot distinguish between the United States and Massachusetts any more than we can between Great Britain and Warrick, claims to France and the Department of the Seine, believes that the department of justice is largely responsible for the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti.

And whatever the fine legal niceties of the case are, it is indubitable, says Salsedo, that the deportation deliriums are an outstanding feature of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. That delirium was engineered by the department of justice under A. Mitchell Palmer. That delirium was responsible for the "consciousness of guilt" which Sacco and Vanzetti are said to have shown when arrested; but it was consciousness of radicalism, not murder, which Judge Thayer told the jury. Hoover that their consciousness of guilt was the outstanding evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti.

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DATE 7/6/82 BY SP-001/SH

61-126-831 X

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT San Francisco, Calif.

(S.F. File 61-35)

REPORT MADE AT: San Francisco, Calif.	DATE WHEN MADE: Sept. 12/27	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Aug. 16/27 to Sept. 12/27	REPORT MADE BY: 670
TITLE: NICOLA SACCO BARTHOLOMEO VANZETTI			CHARACTER OF CASE: RADICAL ACTIVITIES.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Continuing efforts to keep in touch with possible radical activities, this district fail to develop any information whatever. No acts of violence by radical sympathizers were reported. On August 22nd, 1927; special vigilance was maintained, several agents on duty at this office all night. That evening San Francisco Police arrested 123 radical sympathizers, who were parading in a street demonstration. All were released by police the following day and given suspended sentences of six months each. No subsequent developments reported to date. Police guards released from Federal Buildings, San Francisco, on August 28, 1927. Radicals very inactive and poorly organized this district. Should there be any further developments, this case will be re-opened. All leads exhausted. Investigation completed this district.

CLOSED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/2/82 BY SP-8 BJS/ML

A reference is made to previous reports of this case and especially to report of this Agent dated August 15, 1927.

DETAILS:

On the night of the execution of subjects, August 22, 1927, a special vigilance was maintained by the Police of San Francisco. Several Agents of this office remained on duty at this Bureau office all night. The Police, on the evening of August 22, 1927, apprehended 95 men and 28 women, who were participating in a Sacco-Vanzetti street demonstration on that evening. On the following day, these sympathizers were brought before Police Judge Daniel S. O'Brien of San Francisco, were sentenced to 20 days in jail for parading without a police permit

APPROVED AND
FORWARDED:

George A. Campagna

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

BRITTON
REFERENCE:

2

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SEP 10 1927

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO:

Div. Two

FILE

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SEP 20 1927

SEP 21 1927

JACKETED:

2
and for carrying banners in violation of a city ordinance. Judge O'Brien found these parties not guilty on two of the charges, that of unlawful assembly and that of obstructing traffic. The trial of these subjects was brief and decorous. Police Judge O'Brien suspended sentence, placing all of these individuals on probation for six months. The apparent leader of this demonstration was EMANUEL LEVINE, local secretary of the Workers' Communist Party. Included in this group was also MENYA REISS, who is an ardent Radical and has been delivering impassioned speeches at a number of Radical meetings. EMANUEL LEVINE, who stated that he had formerly been attached to Judge Ben Lindsay's Juvenile Court in Denver, explained to the Police that this demonstration had been organized by the International Labor Defense.

Up to the present time, this Agent has been in close touch with the San Francisco Police Department, and through confidential informers, has been advised of the activities of the Radicals in this district.

It appears that no acts of violence were ever reported that the Radical sympathizers in California are apparently few in number, lack organization, and it is not anticipated that they will cause any trouble whatever in the future.

However, this Bureau office will continue to keep in touch with the situation, and the Police will be advised promptly should there be any further demonstrations whatever along those lines.

Acting Chief of Police Quinn of the San Francisco Police Department has a well-organized radical detail of the local police department and during the past crisis afforded every assistance to this office and detailed two uniformed patrolmen at each of the Federal Buildings, excepting the Post Office Building of San Francisco, (in which building the Federal Courts are located,) where four uniformed patrolmen were continually on duty. The Police also maintained a detail of plain-clothes men, duty it was to proceed from place to place throughout the city, obtain whatever information possible as to activities of these sympathizers.

On August 28, 1927, Acting Chief of Police Quinn advised the Agent in Charge of this office that, inasmuch as the crisis had passed, that if it was agreeable to the Federal authorities, the police detail would be relieved from the Federal Buildings in this city, which accordingly was done.

3 -

It is believed that the Radicals in this District, who are very poorly organized, will not cause any disturbance in the future, and the present situation, which is very dormant, does not warrant any further investigation at this time. However, should there be any subsequent developments along those lines, the Bureau will be promptly advised.

INVESTIGATION COMPLETED; CASE CLOSED.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

BOSTON, MASS.

Chicago

5

REPORT MADE AT: CHICAGO, ILLINOIS	DATE WHEN MADE: Sept. 15-1927	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Sept. 15-1927	REPORT MADE BY: [REDACTED] b7c
TITLE: NICOLE SACCO and BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI			CHARACTER OF CASE: POSSIBLE ANARCHISTIC ACTIVITIES OF SYMPATHIZERS

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

The activities of organizations and individuals in sympathy with the above subject matter in the Chicago District very quiet, excepting on August 9, 1927, when three sticks of dynamite were found attached to alarm clock in a vacant building opposite Station C, Post Office, Chicago, located at 1207-1211 West Madison St. A few meetings were held which were covered by the Police Department of Chicago, nothing of interest taking place at these meetings.

REFERRED BACK TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NO FURTHER ACTION IN THIS DISTRICT

REFERENCE:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/12 BY SP-1016

DETAILS:

DETAILS: The activities of various organizations and individuals in sympathy with above subjects in the Chicago District were quiet. A few meetings were held but nothing of interest occurred at them. All meetings were covered by the Chicago Police Department.

On August 9, 1927, around noon, three sticks of dynamite attached to an alarm clock set to explode at 11.30 P. M., August 9, were found in a vacant building opposite Station C. of the Chicago Post Office, located at 1207-1211 West Madison Street. As soon as found the dynamite and alarm clock were

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

APPROVED AND
FORWARDED:SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGEWASHINGTON
OFFICE:

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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SEP 15 1927

SEP 21 1927

JACKETED:

taken by the Chicago Police Department who have investigated the matter.
Nothing else of importance on this subject matter occurred.

REFERRED BACK TO OFFICE OF ORIGIN
NO FURTHER ACTION HERE

ME:GAJ

61-126-834

October 4, 1927.

OCT 6 1927

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LHERIER

I am transmitting herewith, for your information, copy of a letter received from the Agent in Charge of the Boston office of the Bureau, together with copy of the article mentioned therein, relative to the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Fund.

Very truly yours,

Director.

Encl. 241510.

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DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-885/1

2

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

P. O. Box 239,
423 Federal Building, Boston, Mass.

September 22, 1927.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Attention Division No. 1.

I am enclosing herewith copy of the "Gazetta del
Massachusetts" for September 10, 1927, which contains an
article in re the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Fund. I am sending
this paper to you in accordance with your verbal instructions.

Respectfully,

James L. Craven
JAMES L. CRAVEN,
Special Agent in Charge.

JLC:JMC

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NO 46
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NO. 3

61-126
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61-126-834

24

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/2/82 BY SP8 BTJ/mc

From
The Attorney General
to
Official indicated below by check mark

Solicitor General Mitchell.....

Assistant to the Atty. Gen., Donovan.....

Assistant Attorney General Willebrandt.....

Assistant Attorney General Parmenter.....

Assistant Attorney General Marshall.....

Assistant Attorney General Farnum.....

Assistant Attorney General Galloway.....

Assistant Attorney General Luhring.....

Assistant Attorney General Lawrence.....

Mr. Hoover, Dir. Bureau of Investigation.....

Mr. Conner, Superintendent of Prisons.....

Mr. Baldwin, Chief Clerk.....

Mr. Finch, Pardon Attorney.....

Mr. Sornborger, Appointment Clerk.....

Mr. Robb, Mail and Files.....

Mr. Dodge.....

Miss Fitzgerald.....

Mr. Gardner.....

Mr. Horan.....

Mr. Chase.....

Mr. Carusi.....

Miss Watkins.....

Miss Brown.....

MEMORANDUM

9-26-27
Please let
me know
your ideas.

61-126

RECORDED OCT 13 1927

61-126-835	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
SEP 26 1927 P. M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
Mr. Dns	FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP8/BJS/AN

CCNY

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts,
Executive Department,
State House, Boston, Mass.

Boston, Mass.
September 22, 1927.

The President,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

The Commissioner of Public Safety, General Foote, is very much concerned over the situation which turned up here in connection with communistic activities in regard to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Apparently these activities are to be transferred to New York. They are nation-wide. The Commissioner feels very apprehensive in regard to what they may accomplish with in connection with communism.

We have carried on this investigation in Massachusetts for a great many months. We cannot very well transfer our activities to New York. It is something the Government at Washington should handle.

I would like to arrange a conference between a representative of the Department of Justice or of the Secretary of State, or anyone whom you might designate, and General Foote and myself at such time as would be convenient. It is something that ought to be attended to at once, and both General Foote and I would feel we were not doing our full duty if we stopped our activities herewithout calling this matter to the attention of the Federal Government. This would be the object of our interview and I think the situation warrants your directing someone to confer with us.

With kindest regards and best wishes for your good health, I beg to remain

Respectfully yours,

ALVAN T. FULLER

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DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-807JMC

61-126-835

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
SEP 26 1927 P. M.
RECEIVED
ONE
DIV. TWO

7-1-1927

COPY

Washington, D. C.,
September 24, 1927.

My dear Mr. Attorney General:

By direction of the President, I am sending you the enclosed self-explanatory letter from Governor Alvan T. Fuller, of Massachusetts.

Sincerely yours,

EVERETT SANDERS
Secy. to the President.

Hon. John G. Sargent,
Attorney General,
Washington, D.C.

HW:303
61-124-834

OCT 11 1927

October 11, 1927.

RECORDED

Mr. J. L. Croven,
P. O. Box 259,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

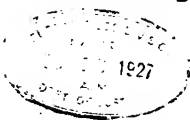
The Bureau is in receipt of your communication of October 5th., setting forth the request of the Immigration authorities at Boston for permission to inspect the SACCO-VANZETTI files.

It will be appropriate for you to inform the Boston Immigration authorities that complete files of all Bureau cases are located at the Bureau in Washington and that any request for a perusal or inspection of said files must be made of the Bureau direct.

Very truly yours,

Director.

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DATE 7/2/02 BY SP-8 BTM/mh



1

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Box 239, Boston, Mass.

2

October 5, 1927.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Attention No. 2.

On October 4th Mr. M. J. Leonard, U. S. Immigration Inspector, called at this office requesting permission to see the Sacco-Vanzetti file in order to obtain information to make up a report.

Mr. Leonard's request was based on a letter from Assistant Commissioner General of Immigration, Washington, D. C., asking a report on the Sacco and Vanzetti case, dealing with their entry to the United States and their activities in the United States after arrival here up to the time they were arrested and tried.

This information is being submitted to the Bureau for instructions in this matter.

Very truly yours,

J. L. Craven
J. L. CRAVEN,
Special Agent in Charge.

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DATE 7/4/02 BY SP-6 JMC

Reply
10711/25
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RECORDED

61-126-836	
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
OCT 5 1927 A. M.	DEPT. OF JUSTICE
<i>[Signature]</i>	

NO 2

HR:DSB

61-124-225

OCT 13 1927

October 29, 1927.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

I am returning, attached hereto, letter to the President of Governor Alvan F. Fuller, of Massachusetts, said letter requesting a conference between a representative of the Department of Justice, Governor Fuller and his Director of Public Safety, Mr. Foote.

In accordance with this request, a conference was held with the Governor and Mr. Foote on October 6, 1927. The Governor outlined the various steps which have been taken by him to keep in touch with Communist activities in connection with the SAGGO-VAN KETTEL case. He stated that the center of Communist activities had lately been transferred to New York City, that the matter was therefore out of his jurisdiction and that he thought it advisable to take up with the representative of the Department the matter of the desirability of the Department keeping in continued touch with said Communist activities which he considered inimical to the welfare of the country at large.

The Governor was told that there was no existing Federal Law or Statute which would permit of investigative activity by the Bureau or prosecution for said activities. He was informed that the Bureau and the Department were therefore unable to take any official cognizance of this situation; that since 1924 no investigative activity had occurred along these lines until the Summer of this year when steps were taken, in view of certain threats, to protect Federal property throughout the country and the lives of Governmental officials. The Governor spoke of the desirability of Federal legislation to meet activities of this kind and suggested that he might take steps during the coming winter, through the Massachusetts Congressional Delegation or otherwise, to bring the matter before Congress with a view to securing such legislation as would permit the Department and the Bureau to cope with any similar emergencies which might arise.

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Encl. 258022

DATE

7/2/82

BY SP-1073/pw

Director.

No.

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation
Box 239, Boston, Mass.

October 11, 1927.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

Attention No. 2.

Reference is made to letter addressed to the Director under date of October 5th advising that Mr. M. J. Leonard, U. S. Immigration Inspector, called at this office requesting permission to obtain information from the Sacco-Vanzetti file of this office.

Mr. Leonard called at this office today and advised that he will again call here on October 13th to see whether authority has been received granting him access to our file.

I am attaching a copy of the letter received by the Commissioner of Immigration at Boston, Mass. from the Assistant Commissioner General which is submitted for your information and instructions in this matter.

Very truly yours,

J. L. Craven
J. L. CRAVEN,
Special Agent in Charge.

JLC:MD

RECORDED

61-126-8

OCT 13 1927	
Div. Two	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-8075/bw

NO. 3

83 33
(C O P Y)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Bureau of Immigration,

WASHINGTON

September 27, 1927.

No. 55604/297.

Commissioner of Immigration,
Boston, Massachusetts.

The Secretary of this Department has requested that he be furnished with a brief history of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Italian aliens who were recently electrocuted in Boston. He is particularly interested in their immigration history; when they came into the United States, where they lived, and something of their activities. It is understood that they departed to Mexico to avoid service during the War, and reentered sometime after the Armistice. The dates and facts concerning this episode, so far as available, are also desired. In all probability, much, if not all of the data desired is in the records of the Attorney General of the State of Massachusetts.

Please give this your very prompt and earnest attention, furnishing the Bureau your report in triplicate.

(s.) GEORGE J. HARRIS,
Assistant Commissioner General

Office of the Director ^{Even} Bureau of Investigation
To
OFFICIAL INDICATED BELOW BY CHECK MARK

Attorney General ☐
 General Donovan ☐
 General Luhring ☐
 General Willebrandt ☐
 General Marshall ☐
 Mr. Chase ☐
 Mr. Carusi ☐
 Mr. Baldwin ☐
 Mr. Harris ☐
 Mr. Stewart ☐
 Assistant Director ☒
 Chief Inspector ☐
 Chief, Division 3 ☐
 Chief, Division 4 ☐
 Chief, Division 5 ☐
 Chief, Division 6 ☐
 Chief, Division 7 ☐
 Miss Gandy ☐
 Personnel Filing Section ☐
 ☐

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 DATE 7/2/82 BY [signature]



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SAGGO DATA PEEK ED

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12

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

P. O. Box 239,
423 Federal Building, Boston, Mass.

November 2, 1927.

Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: • Attention Division No. 1.

With reference to the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and in accordance with your verbal instructions, there is attached hereto copy of report submitted by the United States Attorney at Boston, Mass. regarding the same, which was only recently received at this office.

Respectfully,

James L. Craven
JAMES L. CRAVEN,
Special Agent in Charge.

ENCLOSURE



61-126

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DATE 9/2/82 BY SP-8 BJS/wh

61-126-838

NOV 3 1927	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
Div. One Div. Two	FILE

Boston

August 16, 1927.

**Hon. George R. Farnum,
Acting Attorney General,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.**

Sir:

This office, with the assistance of J. L. Craven, Special Agent in Charge of the Bureau of Investigation in this district, has made a thorough examination of all the material in the files of this office or connected with it, in regard to the Sacco-Vanzetti case so-called. We found in the files nothing of any substantial importance.

There are only three reports which, by any stretch of imagination, could be thought to have any possible bearing upon probability of the guilt or innocence of the defendants.

The first is a report made December 6, 1921, by Special Agent regarding a report that a [redacted] had stated that her husband, [redacted] had claimed to him that he was the person who had driven the car which contained the man who had committed the murders. [redacted] was notified and immediately denied that he had ever told his wife anything of the kind and denied the whole story. Upon further investigation it appeared that [redacted] herself was an absolutely unreliable person. It was decided after full investigation that there was foundation whatever for her story.

Another report made December 18, 1920, regarding the Wall Street bomb explosion, is of the results obtained by placing an undercover informant in Norfolk County Jail at Dedham, Mass., a cell adjacent to that occupied by Sacco in order to report what Sacco might say to him if he were inclined to talk. It appears from the report that Sacco suspected this informant and did not talk with him except very guardedly, and said nothing of any importance.

Another report is with reference to affidavits secured by Albert Hurwitz, Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts, from federal prisoners Jacob Luban and Paul Martini at Atlanta Penitentiary, with reference to the alleged subornation of perjury on the part of Fred Moore, attorney for the defendants, Sacco and Vanzetti, in the murder case. These affidavits are to the general

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August 16,

effect that Mr. Moore promised Luban and Martini a substantial amount of money, I think \$10,000 each, if they would make affidavit that Martini, who had some resemblance to Sacco, was really the person who was involved in these crimes, and Mr. Moore represented to them that the federal authorities and the state authorities were all anxious to find some excuse for acquitting Sacco and Vanzetti.

I report, therefore, that there is, in my judgment, ^{not} in this office regarding the case which should be given to the ^P

Respectfully,

Frederick H. Tarr,
United States Attorney.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

WAS. FIELD OFFICE, D. C.

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

Washington, D.C. 10-27-36, 1004-1005.

TITLE

CHARACTER OF CASE

1004-1005-1006

FILE NO.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

William F. Dodson, interviewed. William F. Dodson of DeSoto, Mo. not identical with subject. Newspaper clipping in re subject's letter from Police Dept. of this city dated 10/27/36. Police officer requested to investigate. PRINTING.

DETAILS:

Reference is made to Bureau memorandum introduced TIM 6993 dated Oct. 23, 1936, to which is attached photostat copy of newspaper clipping from the "News" of this city, dated 10/27/36; also photostat copy of letter dated June 18, 1934, signed William F. Dodson, 408 Bond St., DeSoto, Mo.

The memorandum on which this report is based requests information as to whether or not William F. Dodson of DeSoto, Mo. is the same person as the William F. Dodson mentioned in the clipping from the "News", in which clipping it is alleged that the William F. Dodson who was on parole from the Massachusetts State Prison and William F. Dodson of DeSoto, Mo. are the same person. Agents are of the opinion that the two men are not identical as the William F. Dodson writing from DeSoto, Mo. under date of June 18, 1934, refers to incidents occurring 30 years ago. Besides, the William F. Dodson who was on parole from the Massachusetts State Prison was in jail at the time the above referred to letter was written from DeSoto, Mo. The newspaper clipping above referred to appearing in the "News", reads as follows:

PAROLE FRAUD LIES TO D. C. DET. (TIM).
Mysterious Monthly Report from Criminal Shield
Operations of Released Auto Thief
By United Press.

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DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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INDEXED

#4

William F. Burleson, U.S. Attorney General, helped William F. Burleson, leader of a band of bank and store thieves, to escape his prison in Massachusetts state prison where he had been held for the State Prison Board.

Burleson is back in his cell following arrest in New York City last night. He is alleged to have been in the city for about a year between 1930 and 1931 and was in the State, New Hampshire, Maine and New York during the past year.

"Red" Burleson" Attended

The Federal Board announced today that although Burleson has resumed his original career following his escape, regular monthly payments to Burleson had been received, indicating his steady employment in Washington, and his continued good conduct.

The Federal Board of the Board, the Detective Bureau of the Federal Police worked for the man supposed to have been employing Burleson in that city.

The Federal Board will continue in an effort to secure cooperation for the rehabilitation of Burleson's parolee patients.

Investigator Grant Investigates.

Investigator Grant, Chief of the Federal Detectives, said today he will investigate Burleson until he receives further information from the Massachusetts State Prison Board regarding the parolee's whereabouts.

He is checking up Burleson's alleged address.

The Federal Board of the Board is in this city and interviewed one of the parolees, Grant, who admitted to being a part of the "Red" Burleson band of thieves, which was the origin of "William F. Burleson" and "Red Burleson", alleged that the parolee was in this city during the past year.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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The basis on which this report is based rests in-
vestigation made with a view to determining whether or not the
alleged theft of automobiles by William F. Jackson after his parole
constitutes the publication of this Bureau.

Investigations are being and will have taken place within the
jurisdiction of the Federal Office, it is respectfully requested that
that office make appropriate investigation and determine whether or not
any of these thefts of automobiles by William F. Jackson come within
the purview of the Federal Motor Vehicle Theft Act.

RECEIVED

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

Boston, Mass.

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE

REPORT MADE BY

Boston, Mass.

Nov. 2, 1935.

Oct. 28 to

Nov. 28, 1935.

TITLE:

CHARACTER OF CASE

Alleg. Viol. National Motor
Vehicle Theft Act.

(RECEIVED FILE NO-111)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS.

Esels Bureau, Washington, 10/23/35. DETROIT violated parole this District; re-arrested and confined State Prison for a suspended term of 5 years. No interstate transportation of stolen automobile proven to date.

DETAILS:

This investigation is based on Bureau letter dated Oct. 15, 1935 - initiated 10/15/35, 85-3386, - enclosing photostat copy of a newspaper article which appeared in the Washington News Center 10/15/35, entitled "The Criminal P. J. Smith", and requesting that an appropriate investigation be made to determine whether or not this case comes within the jurisdiction of this Bureau.

Agent also advised Special Agent in Charge Parker to the office of Captain Smith, of the Massachusetts State Police, State House, Boston, where a conference was held relative to the cooperation of State and Bureau forces in the investigation of alleged violations of the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act.

Later Agent interviewed Lieut. John Smith, of the Massachusetts State Police, who stated that he is in direct charge of the investigation of this P. J. Smith, and was extremely interested in securing his cooperation and return to State Prison to complete his present term of approximately 5 years, owing to a violation of his parole. Lieut. Smith further stated that he intends to have William P. Smith arrested during the week commencing November 1st, 1935, for the larceny of two automobiles in the State of Massachusetts. In view of the conclusive evidence that the State has against this individual and the possibility of a sentence of from five to seven years, Lieut. Smith did not desire to outline his evidence in the case until after some has been presented to

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

1935

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CONFIDENTIAL

the Stone Grand Jury.

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Reference is also made to report of Special Agent
Washington, D. C., dated October 27, 1968, in which a letter
is quoted from P. L. GRANT, Assistant Superintendent, Commanding
Detective Division, Washington, D. C., to Mr. ROBERT BROOKS, Chairman

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Page 10

CC-0.125.5.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

REPORT MADE AT

DATE OF REPORT 11/11/41 11/11/41

TITLE

CHARACTER OF CASE

I. S. VIL. 1012. 1012
VIL. 1012. 1012 Act.

FILE NO. 10-116

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

As there is no further angle of this case to be investigated at Washington, D. C., this case will be considered closed.

DETAILS:

Reference is made to all former reports in above captioned case and especially to the seventh paragraph of Special Agent report, dated Boston, Mass., 11/6/41.

As there is no further angle of above captioned case to be investigated at Washington, D. C., the same will be considered closed at this office.

CLOSED.

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THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Boston, Mass.

REPORT MADE AT:

Boston, Mass.

DATE WHEN MADE:

Dec. 31, 1935, Dec. 31, 1935

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

TITLE:

CHARACTER OF CASE:

Alleged Violation National Motor Vehicle Theft Act.

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Person indicated on two cars from State Court. He indicated that the cars were stolen and returned to January 15, 1936. Subject has been holding revealing entire scheme of buying and disposing of automobiles.
Continued.

DETAILS: Continuing the above-stated matter, it is reported by Agent under date of November 8, 1935, Agent interviewed Agent Edward Smith, of the Massachusetts State Police at November 8, 1935, who informed that he had interviewed [redacted] of the House of Correction, Deer Island, Boston, Mass., and no information of value was received from this source.

Agent again interviewed Agent Smith on December 1, 1935, and he stated that YOUNG had been indicated on two cars in the State Court; that he pleased guilty to one and had sentence was deferred until January 15, 1936. Subject was ordered for [redacted] that [redacted] and his attorney are now considering revealing the entire scheme of larceny and disposing of automobiles with the possibility of receiving a number of cars and also employing [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] further informed that should subject [redacted] the [redacted] [redacted] the larceny and interstate transportation of automobiles he will communicate with Agent immediately.

DETAILS:

CONTINUED.

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Boston Office, [redacted]

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END.

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT **Boston, Mass.**

REPORT MADE AT **Boston, Mass.** DATE WHEN MADE **1/13/36** PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE **1/7/36** SUBJECT MADE BY

TITLE

CHARACTER OF CASE

**Alvin Karpis, Edward Bremer, John Dillinger, et al.
Kidnap, Robbery, Mail Theft, etc.**

(See also file 100-111)

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Subject sentenced in State Court 1, 1934 to 4 years in State Prison. He evaded a 6-month Federal National Motor Vehicle Theft Act. **CLOSED - INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE.**

DETAILS:

Continuing above entitled matter, last reported by Agent on date of December 21, 1935, Agent ascertained at the Superior Criminal Court, Boston, Mass., that [redacted] was brought into Court on January 19, 1936, and sentenced to State Prison for a term of 4 to five years, the first day to be in solitary confinement; that this sentence is to take effect from and after sentence he is now serving in State Prison.

At the offices of the MASSACHUSETTS STATE POLICE, State House, Boston, Mass., Agent was informed that [redacted] had failed to reveal any information involving the larceny and interstate transportation of automobiles.

CLOSED, INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE.

DETAILS

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U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

7-1332

Justice Underfoot

ONE of the most momentous decisions in the history of American jurisprudence has been rendered—and Sacco and Vanzetti are condemned to death. Around the earth the news has winged its way as fast as light and wherever the tidings have reached millions of workers now believe that justice does not exist in America, that two innocent men are going to their doom in order that a social system may be upheld, a tottering social order may triumph. As we write no one can foretell the consequences of Governor Fuller's astounding decision, but from remote quarters there already comes the news of protest meetings, of protest strikes, of the windows of the American Consulate in Buenos Aires smashed, of a sense of horror-struck outrage in one country after another. Talk about the solidarity of the human race! When has there been a more striking example of the solidarity of great masses of people than this? Ten years ago people were reading of thirty thousand, forty thousand, fifty thousand men done to death in a single day in the war that statesmen, with horrible sacrilege, had falsely dedicated to democracy and to civilization. Those useless massacres nowhere stirred the neutral world as has the fate of these two Italian workers, who have dared to say that they were anarchists, but innocent of the murder with which they are charged. ~~Wherever the American flag flies in foreign lands today, it has to be guarded; it appears the symbol of a monstrous wrong.~~ Men may yet die by the dozen because of Governor Fuller's decision. ~~Rightly or wrongly, we repeat, uncountable multitudes today believe that in America justice is dead.~~

For ourselves, we are shaken to the core. We had not believed such a decision possible. We do not retract one word from our praise of the industry Governor Fuller has shown, his painstaking examination of the topography of the scene of the crime, of witnesses and jurors, judge and prisoners. We recognize again his honesty of purpose; we acquit him of any charge of political maneuvering; we admit the superficial ability of his opinion. Yet we cannot for one instant accept this verdict in the face of facts known to us for years as they have been known to multitudes of others. It seems to us that he has missed all the important points in the case and that his decision reveals his complete inability to rise above the point of view of his surroundings, his class, and the setting in which great wealth has placed him. Nor are we convinced by the facile report of the Governor's committee of three eminent and conventional gentlemen, two chosen from the highest Boston social circles, all of one type of mind and not one of them representing the vast groups that have felt from the first that they had a vital stake in the fate of these men. After a brief investigation, partaking of the nature of a star-chamber in hearing Judge Thayer and his attorney without attendance of the defense's counsel, they have upheld the court.

As for Governor Fuller's judgment of the case, it no more closes it than the hanging of John Brown ended the Harper's Ferry raid and condemned him to execration and oblivion. More than half the people of this country refused to consider John Brown a traitor or a murderer, though his guilt was unquestionable and was openly confessed, whereas the masses believe Sacco and Vanzetti legally innocent and determined by law and not

by prejudice. The people saw behind John Brown a far-reaching moment that soon thereafter tore the country apart and for four long years drenched it in blood. They knew at once that the questions at stake were not only on that Charlestown scaffold and could not be; that the liberties of millions were involved, and the fate whether or not the South should be ruled by a despotic economic oligarchy, whether poor whites and blacks alike should be masters of their bodies as well as their souls. And, wrongly, the case of Sacco and Vanzetti has become confused with efforts to reconstruct the social order, just as the Dreyfus case came to mean infinitely more important than for France and the world than the fate of one Jewish man.

Absurd and unjustified, this interpretation of the Sacco and Vanzetti case seems to all conservatives. But it is the case and not Massachusetts alone, but the whole of the United States will have it to reckon with. Governor Fuller's decision will never upset this belief. For the fact, the unanswerable fact, stands out that here is an instance of a headlong collision of certain viewpoints which are and must be hopelessly antagonistic. The liberals and the radicals who are championing the cause of these men may close their blind eyes. The truth remains that the question of guilt of these men has been subordinated to the question of these two vital currents of human thought, and the fact that large knows that Sacco and Vanzetti have been judged on these viewpoints alone. And still another fact, a more unanswerable fact, stands out that in its essence the guilt or innocence of these men has been passed upon by a judge; that what is forbidden in New York and is forbidden in other States of the Union has come to pass in Massachusetts: no evidence—not the technical legal procedure has been ruled upon only by the trial judge, he who, in the title of the charges against him by reputable witnesses true, ought to be impeached and disgraced—even the Lowell committee admits what it kindly calls his "indiscretion."

Is it any wonder that M. Herriot, who has repeated as Prime Minister of France and as the present Minister of Education, given proof of his friendship for America has cried out in protest, against not only this and its barbarity but what has gone on before. "To the depths of my soul," he declares, "I am against this punishment. I have lasted seven years. I am sorry to be unable to see my voice heard, but I belong to the Government and my words might pledge the whole cabinet. Personally, I have varied my opinion. Sacco and Vanzetti ought to be released. They have earned such a measure of clemency. But what affects the European opinion more than America can possibly realize—that these men have been in jeopardy of their lives for seven long years. We are informed of high authority that a group of the foremost London jurists after devoting an entire evening to a discussion of the Sacco and Vanzetti trial, was unanimously of the opinion that they ought to be freed now, whether guilty or innocent, even the crime of murder does not merit the cruel and usual punishment of keeping men in such torture for seven years. Governor Fuller smugly condemns the defense the delay—would he be as quick to denounce the delay as Doheny and Fall and Daugherty?"

their trials for five years?—but the hideous circumstance is there. It is impossible in any other civilized country for men to be tortured as have been these. The London *Times* itself features bitter criticism of verdict and procedure. Even the New York *Times* is compelled to write thus:

Yet it remains true that thousands of good citizens, while submitting to this grievously delayed working of the machinery of justice, will feel that there is something shocking in an execution so long after trial. We speak not of the "perverted zeal of clamorous agitators," though that will now doubtless flame afresh. Far more serious is the hurt to humane feeling and the doubt which will persist in candid minds whether the ends of justice could not better have been attained in some other way.

A just and pious wish! But, the world over, it is a demand by an outraged humanity. Even if Governor Fuller felt that he must uphold the decision, could not justice have been tempered with mercy? Yield to foreign or American threats of course he could not. But the hands of millions have been outstretched to him for pardon or commutation of sentence. A great executive would justly have taken note of that, would have strengthened justice by recognizing an unparalleled demand for clemency; might even have weighed the cost to his country of making martyrs of these men; could have upheld the majesty of the law far, far better by exercising forbearance than by a brutal insistence upon an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life.

As for Governor Fuller's opinion, he sweeps away the testimony as to the bias of Judge Thayer by affirming that the judge had a right to be biased after the testimony was in, whereas the affidavits of reputable men and women affirm that that bias was evident from the earliest stages of the trial. We pass over aghast his tribute to the "clear-eyed" and "courageous" witnesses—some of whom are of doubtful reputation, contradicted themselves, and testified to the impossible. Nor would we stress today the old question of the identifications or the fact that the deadly bullet was never proved to have been from Sacco's revolver; nor dwell upon the Governor's describing in one hundred words the Bridgewater hold-up which had nothing to do with the question of a fair trial in the Braintree case. As for the latter, the Governor is quite satisfied that Judge Thayer was right in denying all the seven motions for a new trial. He is not willing that the men should be given the benefit of a doubt, nor will he appeal to the legislature to start the machinery for a new trial in a different atmosphere under a different judge. Would that have rocked the foundations of Massachusetts justice? It might have inflamed the Back Bay clubs, but it would have meant joy and satisfaction wherever newspapers appear.

And not merely to radicals. It is not the radicals alone who fought for Sacco and Vanzetti. Noble souls have given years of their lives and their money to this cause who are neither Reds nor foreign-born Americans; nor have they belonged to those holding the anarchist views of the condemned. If there are finer types of our citizenship, or men and women of older American lineage, we should like to have them pointed out to us. They, too, have read every word of the testimony; they have examined the new witnesses; they, too, have studied the motions for a new trial and perused Judge Thayer's denials of them; they have read the affidavits against the judge and they are as good as the Governor himself. They are as eager as he for the good repute of Massachusetts and its courts, yet

they are unconvinced. To them an incredible tragedy being finished before their eyes; a judicial murder is being committed. Does not the passionate belief of these unselfish supporters of the right merit consideration, if not assent?

As for Sacco and Vanzetti, sometimes we have as ourselves whether it was not intended that they should die, and whether it is not best for the cause of human rights that they should perish. In his wonderful address to the court—made to Judge Thayer, who did not once dare look at the prisoners as he condemned them to the chair—Vanzetti voiced this in amazing exaltation of spirit:

If it had not been for these things, I might have lived my life, talking at street corners to scornful men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are no failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life can we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man, as now we do in this accident. Our words—our lives—our pains—now are the taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker, a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belong to us, that agony is our triumph!

This, we believe, will be the verdict of history. Certain it is that if the precedents of history hold true, monuments are likely to be erected to Sacco and Vanzetti and the names of their prosecutors will fade out of history.

There is one other word from these men that we might record from their lips before they step over into eternity. That is an appeal to all their fellow-workers, the world to refuse to be goaded by their deaths into violence whatever. If we have any influence at all, if those working-men whose cause we have so often sought to champion, we would make it count now if never again. Violent reprisals can only do the cause of progress no harm. The life of every one brought into this case must be sacred. He who strikes at one of them strikes a blow at liberty and progress and justice and hope for a better world comparable to this execution of innocence. Should there be lawless violence, then reaction everywhere will not retaliate in kind, but will seize upon it as proof of the necessity of maintaining itself by any means whatsoever. It will lie only madness and destruction. It is the American way to accept such a defeat in peace, however bitter the spirit, and then, by time-honored methods, seek to make recurrence impossible.

As for those Tories who in their clubs and the halls of trade will rejoice that, innocent or guilty, Sacco and Vanzetti are going to their graves, we would delve into the past once more. The orator is Wendell Phillips:

Men walked Boston streets, when night fell on Bunker's Hill, and pitied Warren, saying, "Foolish man! He has away his life! Why didn't he measure his means better?" Now we see him standing colossal on that blood-stained rock and severing that day the tie which bound Boston to Great Britain. That night George III ceased to rule in New England. History will date Virginia Emancipation from Harper's Ferry. True, the slave is still there. So, when the tempest uproots a pine on your hills, it looks green for months—a year or two. Still, it is timber, not a tree. John Brown has loosened the roots of the slave system; it only breathes—it does not live—hereafter.

Let those who would uphold the present system by force were lest it look green for a while, yet still prove timber and not a tree. Let them beware lest, August 10, 1927, forever recorded as the day of a great American character,

August 17, 1927

THE NEW REPUBLIC

ing witnesses, whose appearance is a purely voluntary matter on their part, but would remark that there is likely to be a special difficulty in securing an interview with this man. But the importance of Goodridge is such that we feel bound to inquire whether His Excellency has actually interviewed this man, and if he has not, what the State Police have to report concerning their efforts to find Goodridge and induce him to testify. From our knowledge of Goodridge's past we should be surprised to learn that he is at present out of prison.

We would point out that the official record of the case to which we understand His Excellency has so far confined his attention, other than the interviewing of witnesses, does not reveal the history of Goodridge. Except in one respect, his history was unknown to the defense until after the close of the Dedham trial. Consequently, neither the judge nor the jury nor the defense counsel at Dedham knew that Goodridge testified under a false name—that his real name was Erastus Corning Whitney; that he had spent some years in prison; that he was at the time of the trial at Dedham a fugitive from justice in New York; that he was brought back from Houlton, Maine, in May, 1920, by the chief of police of Braintree on a charge of larceny, preferred against Goodridge and his supposed wife by their employer; and that the charge against Goodridge was placed on file shortly before he testified as a government witness at Dedham, which is in the same county as Braintree.

We would point out that in the absence of information concerning Goodridge's personal history, His Excellency may not be inclined to attach to the failure of Goodridge now to appear, upon request, the significance which perhaps it deserves.

LOUIS L. WADE. This man was one of the five identification witnesses against Sacco at the Dedham trial. We do not know whether His Excellency has interviewed Mr. Wade. We assume he is familiar with Wade's testimony and with the attitude of Mr. Katzmann, the district attorney, toward Wade's testimony, as disclosed in his argument to the jury.

We would point out, however, that His Excellency has not before him the record of the preliminary hearing at Quincy, where Wade was put forward as an identification witness against Sacco; and that he has not before him the record of the testimony at the inquest held at Quincy on April 17, two days after the South Braintree hold-up.

From the statement of Mr. O'Connor we quote: "The Pinkerton report on the South Braintree hold-up has this to say concerning Wade: 'April 23. Today I resumed by going to the office of the Massachusetts District Police and conferring with Capt. Proctor on what several witnesses had said in regard to the Anthony Palmisano photo . . . An auto was sent to South Braintree to bring Bostock, Frantello, Wade and Miss Mary Splaine to Boston. On their arrival, Capt. Proctor questioned them and showed a number of pictures, among them being Palmisano's, and had a stenographer take each person's story. Louis Wade, the fourth witness, told his story, but as he went along

the remotest idea as to how he had been identified against Sacco at the Dedham trial. We do not know whether Pelter has as yet appeared before His Excellency. We have no comment to make on what the official record discloses concerning Pelter, excepting that His Excellency has read the trial record.

We would respectfully call attention to the fact that the report of the Pinkerton agency, covering a most extensive investigation made by its operative, contains no reference to Pelter as an eye-witness of the South Braintree hold-up. We do not presume to know at what stage in the Pelter turned up as an eye-witness who was in a position to make a positive identification.

We would respectfully remind His Excellency that he has not been furnished with a copy of the inquest at Quincy which was held two days after the murder. It does appear that Pelter was called as a witness at the Quincy inquest. We would respectfully suggest that the statement which Pelter turned up as a witness has a bearing on the credibility of his testimony. We would not press this point now but for the fact that we have reason to believe this cannot be determined from the trial record, and feel bound to say that our observations of the meeting at which His Excellency has undertaken to get at the truth in this case do not give us confidence that he has the complete story about Pelter.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. We would respectfully inquire whether His Excellency has availed himself of opportunity to inspect the files of the Department of Justice in so far as they may relate to the Sacco-Vanzetti case. We would call attention to a most serious phase of the case against Sacco and Vanzetti, upon which the Department of Justice files and certain officials of the Department could furnish His Excellency with much light.

According to the statement of Judge Thayer, made in denying the Gould motion, Sacco and Vanzetti were victimized chiefly on evidence relating to their consciousness of guilt. The most important element in this supposed consciousness of guilt was their suspicious conduct at Johnson house the night of May 5, preceding their arrest the same night, and especially actions which indicated they feared Mrs. Johnson was telephoning the police against them.

Department of Justice agents between the summer of 1919 and the spring of 1920 were seeking to round up so-called Galleani band of anarchists, of which Sacco, Vanzetti, Boda and Orciani were members. We would reason to believe that His Excellency will find that Ravarino, an under-cover man employed by the Department of Justice, had wormed his way into the confidence of the members of the Galleani band of anarchists in Boston in the fall of 1919 or the winter of 1920; that he was responsible for the arrest of Elia and Salsedo in Brooklyn the spring of 1920; that Vanzetti learned of the activities of Ravarino on his visit to New York on April 26, 1920, in an attempt to aid Elia and Salsedo; and that he turned to Boston with the knowledge that the Department of Justice had secured, through Ravarino, its under-cover man, the names of all or many of the Galleani anarchists.

We respectfully suggest that the information contained in the files of the Department of Justice in determining the truth in this case is of great importance.

to Mr. O'Connor, suggested by Stewart, because of theory which he had formulated; and the disappearance of the day after Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested. We would add, perhaps unnecessarily, that Salcedo was dead early in the morning on May 4, the day before Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested. He had been held in the office of the Department of Justice, on the seventh floor of the Park Row Building. Whether he jumped, fell or was thrown out of the window has never been officially determined.

We would further ask whether His Excellency has made any attempt to secure the statement of Attorney General Palmer, made before the House Rules Committee in May, 1920, in connection with the so-called Red Raids of 1920. We would suggest that such a statement, which is a public document, would be of great value to the public.

business of the state, and the Department of Justice. However, chief of the Department of Justice.

We are most serious in pressing this matter, partly because we understand that His Excellency has been assured by a local judge, called, not as a witness, but as an interpreter, that the so-called Red Raids were over by the end of 1919, and we fear that this assurance, received by him in the absence of information obtainable from official sources, may incline His Excellency to dismiss as invalid the explanation put forward on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti—that the drive against Italian radicals, and it now seems, against the Galliani brothers, was not over by the end of 1919.

JOHN R. RICHARDS, a Providence attorney, was interviewed by His Excellency. We understand that Mr. Richards' sole connection with this case arose out of his experience with the Morelli gang of Providence, mentioned in affidavits secured by the Sacco-Vanzetti defense in connection with the confession of one Madeiros. We understand that Mr. Richards was United States Marshal in Rhode Island during the War, and arrested the Morelli gang.

We are consequently amazed at Mr. Richards' version of his interview with His Excellency. From the signed statement of Mr. O'Connor we quote: "I met Mr. Richards as he stepped into the elevator just after he left the executive offices. Mr. Richards appeared dazed, and he was dumbfounded at the attitude shown by Governor Fuller. He asserted that Governor Fuller made the statement: 'The Madeiros matter is dismissed'; that Governor Fuller questioned him regarding his knowledge of the South Braintree hold-up; whether he was ever in South Braintree; and what information or opinion he had about the Sacco-Vanzetti case. Mr. Richards further quoted Governor Fuller as uttering the following words: 'I am convinced it was a fair trial.'"

We think it rather strange that His Excellency should make the flat statement that the Madeiros matter is dismissed, and that he is convinced that the Sacco-Vanzetti trial was a fair trial, weeks before his own inquiry is concluded; before counsel have argued before him; and before the advisory committee has concluded its investigation and conferred with him.

We quote again from Mr. O'Connor:

that my only connection with the case was my arrest by the Morelli gang in Providence. I don't know why I should be subjected to the information that I waited six years before telling what I knew of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The Governor also told me that I was connected with the Sacco-Vanzetti defense. This attitude was not of suspicion and hostility as well as ignorance of my connection with the case.

ROBERT C. BENCHLEY. Mr. Richards' revelations as to the attitude of His Excellency appear to be corroborated by the account given by Mr. Robert C. Benchley, who, we understand, appeared before His Excellency within a day or two of the appearance of Mr. Richards. Mr. Benchley's sole connection with the case was as the signer of an affidavit as to what one Coes told him regarding Judge Thayer's alleged injudicious remarks at the time of the trial. Mr. Benchley has said that he was challenged by His Excellency to show him the place in the entire record indicating that Judge Thayer had said such things.

If the statements of Mr. Richards and Mr. Benchley are true, we feel that it is a serious matter for us after investigating this case in an arbitrary and injudicious manner, in ignorance of many important and authoritative sources of information; that so real investigation is being conducted; that Sacco and Vanzetti are being denied the full and fair hearing which has obtained in Massachusetts in the past for every man under sentence of death, if he chose to ask for it.

We would point out that if Sacco and Vanzetti are executed as the result of a decision reached by the methods and in the spirit so far revealed by His Excellency, then His Excellency need not expect that his determination of the issue will appeal to the intelligence or satisfy the conscience of mankind.

My Church School Cousin

THE same week with my arrival at my uncle's house in the South, my cousin Cornelia has come to stay. Just what kin she is has always been a little vague to me, but she seems a cousin, sister, aunt, anything kin. Her mother, at any rate, was a sister of my uncle's mother. Where everyone else in the family had married fairly enough into the world's estates, she had fallen in love with a young preacher from the North, who in his turn had died from pneumonia caught in a storm when he was following his circuit, and left her to follow him in less than a year. She had given her child to her sister to love and care for. Cousin Cornelia had grown up, then, with my uncle, and had the same black mammy.

My uncle would have given Cousin Cornelia a home, but by the time he was of age, she had been teaching school five years; she had begun at sixteen. Since her father had been a

In general, we point

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

December 15, 1927

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER.

b7c

On December 13, 1927, [redacted] an employee in the Office of Senator McHarty of the State of Oregon, called the Bureau and requested to be furnished with information as to the place of the first imprisonment of Sacco and Vanzetti, and of the date and place of execution of these subjects.

b7c

In accordance with instructions received from Mr. Nathan, [redacted] was communicated with by telephone, and advised that Sacco and Vanzetti were first incarcerated in the Dethen Jail, Norfolk County, Mass., and that they were executed at the Massachusetts State Prison, Charlestown, Mass., on or about August 22nd, or 23rd.

Respectfully,

11-116

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-702/K

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BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
DEC 16 1927
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61-126-840
JPM:MM

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON.

For your information, I am forwarding herewith, an anonymous communication addressed to the Attorney General, relating to the case of Space and Vassalot.

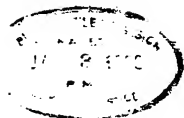
Very truly yours,

Director.

Encl. 70045.

61-126-840

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9/2/82 BY SP-6 JPM



THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

WASHINGTON B. C.

REPORT MADE AT: Denver, Colo.	DATE WHEN MADE: 1-31-28	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 1-31-28	REPORT MADE BY: S.J. McAfee, SAC.	JHL
TITLE: SAACO & VANZITTI, anarchists.			CHARACTER OF CASE: RADICAL MATTERS.	

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS:

Denver Bureau office acted in accordance with instructions contained in wire received from the Director, dated Aug. 6, 1927; up to this time there has been no interference in this District; case is therefore

R U C

REFERENCE

is made to wire received from the Director dated August 6, 1927.

DETAILS:

As there has been no interference in this District by anarchists, in the way of attacks on federal property or officers, it is deemed advisable to close this case on the Denver Bureau office records, and the case is therefore,

REFERRED UPON COMPLETION BACK TO THE OFFICE OF ORIGIN - WASHINGTON - NO FURTHER ACTION HERE, Denver.

DETAILS:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/2/82 BY SP-5/ML

APPROVED AND FORWARDED: <i>S. J. McAfee</i>		SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	61-126-841	DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES
WASHINGTON REFERENCE: Div #2	COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: 3-Bureau 2-Denver		BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE ROUTED TO:	RECORDED AND INDEX FEB 5 1928 CHECKED OFF: JACKETED:

61-14-2

August 27, 1928

10303

MEMORANDUM

There are also enclosed, for your information, copies of a manifesto on the same subject by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and H. M. Wicks, the latter being the delegate of the Workers (Communist) Party of America to the 6th World Congress of the Communist International.

Enclosures:
 "Sacco and Vanzetti - Speakers' Material"
 "We Stand at the Grave of two Warriors".

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ON 4/26/80
per STATE ltr. dtd. 2/22/90
(293,569)

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SACCO AND VANZETTI

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Speakers' Material.

General.

In the mind of the masses America is the richest country in the world, the land of the dollar millionaires. America is known as the land of the most powerful trusts, the country of unlimited possibilities.

In fact America is a tremendously rich country. America has produced the richest and most powerful capitalists. In America the forms of exploitation have taken on the most complicated forms, for instance, the Taylor system, the Ford System, the rolling band etc.

With this idea of riches in America, the other idea is often connected that the workers are extremely well paid. This idea is not so correct as its companion. There are it is true certain sections of the working class who receive high wages, but in comparison with the methods of exploitation used, even these wages are relatively low. The rate of exploitation in America is in general much higher than in the capitalist countries of Europe with less progressive technical methods of exploitation.

Class Antagonisms:

The high technical level of industrial and agricultural production and the progressed state of private monopolism coupled with price dictatorship express in America also sharply the class antagonisms. On the one hand extreme riches and on the other hand extreme poverty. The terror expresses itself in the brutality of the police, the activities of private terrorist bands, class-justice etc. American class-justice is notorious for the high sentences it passes on revolutionary workers.

Class-consciousness in the Proletariat:

Class-consciousness in the proletariat is comparatively weakly developed. This is particularly true of the native born Americans who have been in the country for some generations. Illusions: success for the industrious and capable, god inspired order, reformist ideology fostered by the trade unions with craft and nationalist tendencies. Revolutionary tendencies in the IWW, also in strong anarchist associations. Clear communist organization but weak. The revolutionaries chiefly foreigners: Italians, Russians, Poles, Germans, Spaniards, French etc. Employers treat foreigners almost as criminals and thus feed illusions of politically indifferent workers. Native born workers regard foreigners as competitors, dirty foreigners, criminals.

Class-Struggle Methods:

Fighting methods of workers, particularly in progressed elements, everywhere similar. Individual workers nothing against capitalists. Possibility of affecting working conditions only given through organization and common refusal work further under same conditions. Strikes are therefore common in America. Miners, building workers, steel workers, textile workers in various parts of America carried out long and desperate strikes. Strike of miners in Pennsylvania now being going on over one

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year. Form of individual self-help exists here and there. But attempts, etc., of considerable importance in America as means of peace and police to settle unpleasant labor leaders, break strikes and prepare sensational processes. Last arrests of strikers, violent campaigns in press etc against strikers in order to stir up public opinion against them. Legal injunctions particularly method used against strikes. Judges issue orders against prohibiting strike picketing etc, declaring strikes illegal, making trade unions and individuals responsible for strike damages, forbidding strike agitation, in short prohibiting everything unpleasant to employers. Well-organized associations of employers exist, for instance, the Employers etc. These organizations carry out attacks upon strikers, send strike-breakers, perform espionage and protective service, organize expulsions etc.

Class-Justice:

It is before war American class-justice active. Following facts of years ago active propaganda in Chicago for eight hour day. Patrol of employers attacked against anarchist workers leaders. On May 1, 5 Chicago strike. Strike meeting. Police shots. 6 workers killed. Next day protest meeting in Haymarket. Bomb explodes. Collisions, casualties on both sides. 7 police, 4 workers killed. Many wounded. Total 6 anarchists. Accused propagating anarchist ideas. 7 death sentences, the sentence 15 years hard labour. Several years later completely a trial that sentenced men had nothing to do with any explosion. Aim of bosses however achieved, public opinion mobilized against "criminals", leaders of working class movement destroyed.

In 1916 two Californian revolutionaries sentenced to death, Tom Mooney and Warren A. Billings. Employers deliberately blaming war-revolvers. In San Francisco so-called "Baptist class justice". Workers on strike. General working class spirit against war. Some explodes eleven persons killed forty injured. Wild campaign against workers movement, particularly against foreigners. Mooney and Billings accused of having blown bomb. Numerous protests against death sentences which then transformed into hard labour for life. Rumours that German spies living about. Rumours still stronger to-day. Working class organizations attempting secure re-trial case. Few proofs men's innocence exist. During war 450 war opponents received sentences ranging from 10 years to hard labour for life.

Anti-Warish. Class Legislation:

October revolution 1917. Growing anger American capitalists against working class movement. Mass arrests and sentences. Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs amongst arrested. Preparations for war severe law against working class. Tendency to limit immigration, increase difficulties relating to naturalisation of foreigners and destroy trade unions. In the "United States", the original Socialist law applied against the strike of the miners in 1919 and against strike of rail-roads in 1923. Following war similar criminal anti-Socialist laws enacted in U.S. States.

Law directed against meeting and association. Every utterance in speech or writing approving of war is punishable, including membership of anarchist organizations.

January 1917, Editor "Life" arrested for publishing manifesto of left wing of socialist party. Sentenced to 10

years imprisonment on charge of incitement to mutiny.
March 1920 Vanzetti, Secretary Communist Party also sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

In New York alone 40 persons sentenced on basis of criminal syndicalist laws.

In all States trials with sentences up to 40 years imprisonment on same basis.

Propaganda campaigning against foreign criminals, publishing horrible details of crimes already committed and still more horrible details of crimes planned.

Prelude to Sacco-Vanzetti Case.

Police, judges, prosecutors, politicians and judges to compete to stamp violent leaders as criminals. Excitement and fright of population, particularly petty-bourgeoisie, increased by numerous recidivists against which police helpless. Police engaged zealously in fight against workers. This atmosphere forms background to Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Sacco and Vanzetti, the Italians, came to America with idea that by industrialism, everyone could make good there. Both learned privations of proletarian life in America. Illusions destroyed. They joined anarchist circles and soon became active in movement. Sacco used long years savings in order train himself as qualified shoe worker. Vanzetti more restless, very active propagandistically for workers movement. Both lived in Massachusetts then in 1919 the Attorney-General Baker, a member of the Wilson Cabinet, commenced his campaign against the working class. He studied the anti-bourgeois press with the statement that a revolution was prepared. The general public lost its head, congress granted an extra three million dollars "for the protection of the State against crime". The artificial panic was increased by a number of murders and criminal robberies.

For arrests of workers and police brutalities increased the indignation of the workers and then came the Salsedo affair. Salsedo, an Italian was found on the 2nd May 1920 dead on the pavement in front of the Park Row Building of the Department of Justice in New York. He had jumped out of the fourteenth story window in order to bring his tortures to an end.

A fellow prisoner named Elia was taken immediately after Salsedo's death to Ellis Island and sent post haste back to Italy where he died after a short time. Protest movements were organized, excitement amongst the workers grew. On the 9th May a protest meeting was organized to take place in Brooklyn. Vanzetti was to speak.

Arrest of Sacco and Vanzetti.

A few days before the meeting in Brooklyn Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested. On the 15th April two payroll carriers of a shoe factory in South Braintree were robbed and murdered. In order to save their faces the police arrested Sacco and Vanzetti. They were held in the first place as political suspects before individuals and later accused of the robbery and murders.

The real robbers and murderers were never arrested. Sacco and Vanzetti were stamped as the murderers. This was doubly advantageous, then first of all the police proved how efficient they were, and secondly the public were shown what criminals murderers and robbers actually were.

The Trial:

The trial of Sacco and Vanzetti was prepared in the atmosphere of artificial hatred and panic created by Anderson-Whitaker Palmer and his friends. In order to let Vanzetti appear at the main trial as a convicted man, he was tried beforehand for another affair, namely the robbery and attempted murder of another cashier. This robbery had taken place some time previously. The judges reckoned that thus they could more easily obtain a conviction. When once the workers' leader was convicted for robbery with violence, it would not be difficult to secure his conviction as a murderer.

Vanzetti's alibi was corroborated by a number of witnesses. He was not and could not have been in the place where the crime was committed at the time at which it was committed. Despite this he was sentenced to 15 years hard labour. The sentence declares that in any case Vanzetti was morally guilty because he was an enemy of existing institutions, and that whether he had committed the crime or not he was justly sentenced.

The Second Trial:

The second trial took place against both Sacco and Vanzetti who were charged with murder. The trial took place with great circumstance. Over a score of armed police escorted the two to the court room in Boston in Massachusetts where the two were locked in an iron cage in the open court. The five judges, lawyer and one prosecuting attorney sat on a bench and together against the accused. The carefully chosen witnesses for the prosecution contradicted themselves and each other, partially with their statements and in general made an impression of absolute unreliability. The witnesses for the defence on the other hand were absolutely clear in all their statements and were not to be shaken by hours of clever cross-examination. At the time of the crime Vanzetti was far away selling seals, whilst Sacco was in Boston at the Italian consulate in a past affair. The evidence of the experts was also objectively favourable to the defendants.

Judge Thayer and the Jurymen:

When the course of taking evidence was concluded the Judge Webster Thayer declared to the jury: "Do your duty towards those men who did their duty towards us on the fields of Flanders". And their jurymen did their "duty", they returned a unanimous verdict of "guilty". That was at the same time the sentence of death.

The Protest Movement:

The death sentence created a deep impression upon the workers. Protest demonstrations were organised. Everyone was convinced that a miscarriage of justice had taken place. The protesting lawyers collected the evidence of the innocence of the two Italians. Prominent jurists in all countries examined the material and declared that it proved irrefutably the innocence of the accused. The defence demanded a re-trial. Up to October 1926 7 motions for a re-trial were filed. Judge Thayer who had pronounced sentence of death, was the judge before whom these motions came for decision. He rejected one after the other.

The defence attacked the particulars of the trial with all its might. Without success. Christine Maggiore confessed he together with others "responsible persons".

murders in South Braintree. Useless. Thayer remained obstinate.

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts refused motion for re-trial. The death sentences could be carried out at any time.

The Death Agencies:

For years Sacco and Vanzetti lived in the shadow of the electric chair. The torture undermined their health. On one occasion Vanzetti was placed in a lunatic asylum. Both prisoners suffered terrible agony of mind, but remained true to their revolutionary convictions and spiritually strong. Sacco and Vanzetti wrote letters to their relatives and friends, thanking the workers for their solidarity and calling upon them to continue the fight. Vanzetti wrote:

"No fighters who fall in the unequal struggle -- what does that matter? There are so many who have fallen, but the ideal cannot die".

In a joint letter written at the beginning of 1927 the two wrote:

"Dear friends and comrades,

Thousands of you have given your bread, your peace, your strength and your blood and have endangered your own freedom in order to save our lives and give us freedom once again We are convinced that our murderers are determined to turn us alive in the course of this year... Soldiers of Freedom! You are an undying legion! We greet you with ringing voices and joyful hearts even from the electric chair".

All over the world the storm of protest rose against the deliberate legal murder. Millions and millions of workers raised their voices: Release Sacco and Vanzetti! In hundreds and thousands of meetings and demonstrations, in hundreds of thousands of resolutions and telegrams, millions and millions demanded the release of Sacco and Vanzetti from the hands of the Massachusetts murderers.

The Comedy of Portentment:

Again and again it seemed as though the powerful protest of working men and women all over the world would be heard, but the class-justice of American capitalism intended to have its pound of flesh. The American authorities tried to create the impression that even-handed justice alone would decide the fate of Sacco and Vanzetti. And when optimists all over the world hoped that the sentence of death would be abolished, the authorities ordered the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti.

The Murder Perpetrated:

In the early morning of the 23rd August 1927 the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in the electric chair was carried out. Two fighters of the advance guard of the proletariat were murdered.

The Class-Struggle goes on:

Many victims fall before Sacco and Vanzetti. Since their death others have fallen. Before the victory of the proletarian revolution is accomplished many other victims will fall. Every legal murder must be a lesson to the proletariat. There is no such thing as even-handed justice! There is only class-justice! Class-justice will exist as long as the classes exist. As long as the capitalist social order exists, so long will capitalist class-justice seek to destroy revolutionary workers, if enemies, by all the means in its power.

Sacco and Vanzetti are the symbol of the class struggle of
class warfare!
Fight against capitalist class-justice! Fight with determination
and persistence until the final victory!

-----oooooooo-----

10315

Letter of Vanzetti to the International Labor Defense

On the 23rd May 1926 Bartolomeo Vanzetti sent the following
letter to the International Labor Defense, the organisation in
the United States which performs the same tasks as the Red Aid
organisations in Europe:

The echo of our campaign in our behalf has reached by (my)
heart. I repeat, I will repeat to the last, only the people,
our comrades, our friends, the world revolutionary proletariat
can give us back the powers of the capitalist reactionary
Agnas, or vindicate our names and our blood before history...

There are some who think that our case is a trial for a
criminal crime; that our friends should contest our innocence
but not turn the case into a political issue, because it
would only damage us. Well, I could answer to them all that
our case is more than a political case, is a case of class-war
in which our enemies are personally interested to lose us --
not only for class purposes but for personal passions,
resentments and fear. That we don't have to wait for further
proof to be positive of their hatred, unfairness, blood-thirsty
determination to deny us every right, to tramp upon every
reason, and to make us, as proved by the Boston capitalist
press to the State Supreme Court's decision and its pressing
demands of our prompt execution...."

From this letter it can be seen that Vanzetti realised from his
prison cell far better and more clearly than many of his intimate
friends and comrades outside, what issues were at stake in the case.
The only body which has consistently fought the issue upon the lines
laid down by Sacco and Vanzetti themselves has been the International
Red Aid and its affiliated and sympathising organisations.

The bourgeois and pacifist friends of Sacco and Vanzetti con-
centrated upon securing "justice" for them, or "mercy"! Justice
from the most determined and brutal representatives of capitalism
in the world. Mercy from the men who had worked systematically for
years to railroad Sacco and Vanzetti to the gallows! And this
"Justice" and "mercy" was to be obtained with the following and
similar miserable and spineless appeals to the men who were even then
planning the murder of the two revolutionaries, a murder which they
afterwards carried out in the face of the indignation of the whole
world: "We expect justice! Because Governor Alvan T. Fuller has
the reputation of being a man of courage, honesty and independence.
Because the Governor's advisory committee is composed of men reputed
to be scholarly, of high intelligence and intellectual probity, with
minds unswayed by prejudice and with their reasoning powers dir-
ecting their search for truth."

That is how not to do it. How to do it is shown by Vanzetti
himself in his letter to the International Labor Defense. Only the
organised power of the proletariat in the International Red Aid and
its organisations can prevent such cold-blooded murders from
happening again and again to the leaders of the working class!

ISSUED BY THE MOHR PUBLISHING HOUSE, BERLIN.

by WILLIAM H. HARRIS.

In their death they saved from the hands of Sacco and Vanzetti the memory of their names in our minds. It has placed them in the heroic proportion of the two working class martyrs who have stood in the front lines of the struggle for a better world. The names of Sacco and Vanzetti during their lives were a banner of defiance and a standard. With their death they have become a symbol of the liberation struggle and a powerful, unimpeachable accusation against the ruling class whose only reply to the execution of the two men is the fraud and legal murder.

Sacco and Vanzetti were doomed to death in the electric chair on the eve of great changes in the history of the American working class. The day which found around their cause was the early stages of the new spirit of military and struggle that is pervading the labor movement of this country. The dark years of inequality in ranks have come to an end and a new period of big and courageous struggles is opening. These struggles are necessary to cut wide rents through the heavy rows of ignorance, reaction and betrayal that constituted the movement in the United States for the last few years.

The death of the two Italian rebels of Massachusetts awakened the conscious minds of tens of thousands of workers to the realization of the rights of the class. The fatal electric current also burned away the ideas of many workers the illusion that governments are instituted for popular - instead of class - welfare; that courts and judges are the dispensers of justice instead of the dignified tailors who drag the vicious persecution of an oppressed class with legal finesse - this necessary knowledge, now and startling to so many workers, is becoming a weapon in their struggle.

The two martyrs bequeathed a gigantic task to the workers of this country - Their conduct up to the very last minute constituted not only a standard of courage and defiance; not only did they show the cowardly scoundrels of Massachusetts how revolutionists could die, but their execution was a command to us all to integrate our forces for a bitter end-struggle against the class-enemy.

Other heroes have fallen in the battle. There are others yet to come who will be inspired by example to give everything for labor's cause. There are dozens in the prisons of capitalism today, tens of thousands throughout the world, for whose release we must conduct an unrelenting struggle. We want the Mooreys and the Billings and the Lynettes and those other scores of labor fighters to rejoin us in the front ranks from which they have been snatched.

We are not ashamed to stand at the graves of the warriors with bowed heads, weeping at their loss. But we stand there determined to win back then by our redoubled efforts to topple over the system of exploitation, robbery, misery and murder that sent these guiltless ones to a horrible death.

THE WORKING CLASS WILL AVENGE SACCOS AND VANZETTI.

by
H. M. NICKS

Delegate of the Workers (Communist)
Party of America to the World Congress
of the Communist International.

10917

One year has passed since American Imperialism, in face of the protests of the whole world, murdered Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti after seven years of fiendish torture. These two workers who heroically faced agonizing years of torment, at the hands of the ruling class of the United States and who defiantly faced the fierce surge of the electric current that burned out their lives, symbolized the suffering, but at the same time the insuperable courage of their class, the class in whose behalf they struggled and for whom they died.

On the other hand, the dark forces of reaction who participated in their murder were characteristically representative of the class enemies of Labour in the United States and throughout the world. Governor Alvan T. Fuller, of Massachusetts was the instrument through which the ruling class tried to terrorize the working class by this monstrous crime. He, himself, is an American Millionaire with a fortune of over forty million dollars and is one of the principle stockholders in the Packard Motor Car Company, a scrubbering, labor-hating, union-breaking concern. By way of emphasizing the class character of the conspiracy against Sacco and Vanzetti, Governor Fuller, at a critical period in the proceedings appointed an advisory board, consisting of the enemies of the decadent Rock Bay codfish aristocracy of Boston. It was a trio of cultured hangers-on, wearing frock coats and silk hats, and representing the prostituted institutions of higher learning and the judicial bench. These creatures, equally guilty of the murder of these two innocent working men on framed up charges, were L. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University; Samuel M. Stratton, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Judge Robert Grant, formerly of the Massachusetts Probate Court. These three flunkys of the bourgeoisie declared that the perjured testimony of the bribed witnesses was true and signed their names to an document vilifying Sacco and Vanzetti and whitewashing the detestable Fuller and the loathsome Judge, Webster Thayer, who sentenced them to death and who during the trial revealed his malignant prejudice by referring to his victims as "those damned bastards".

But let not one think that that was merely a local Massachusetts case because the instruments for carrying out the cowardly murder were spawned in that State. Wilson Colledge, president of the United States, has upon his head the same blood-guilt as Fuller and his trio of aristocratic hangers-on. This same Colledge was Governor of Massachusetts before he became Vice-President in Hoover's Teapot Dome outfit and kept those workers in jail during his entire time of office. Furthermore, the United States Department of Justice had unimpeachable documentary evidence to prove the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti and refused to send it public after the fact of its existence became known through the revelations/

18816

revelations of a former detective of the Government.

Involved in the case on the side of the murderers, also understanding the need for the victims of the frame-up, were the American social-democrats and liberals. They shared responsibility with Coolidge, Fuller, Lowell, Stratton, Grant and others by practicing reformist deceptions upon the masses and by creating illusions regarding the "fairness" and "impartiality" of American capitalist class-justice.

Outstanding among these enemies of the working class was the pacifist preacher and at the present moment socialist party candidate for president of the United States, Rev. Norman Thomas. Instead of aiding the campaign of the International Labor Defense, the American Section of the I.L.D. to mobilize the masses against the conspiracy to murder these two workers, whose only crime was that they tried to organize the textile and shoe-factory slaves of the New England States, the Rev. Norman Thomas and the liberals and anarchists talked idly about the "justice" of class rule and tried in every way to discourage the drive to mobilize mass sentiment against the conspiracy. They even went so far as to discourage anti-conspirators as such sections might "embarrass" Fuller and his picked trio of assistant murderers.

Even after the decision of the frock coated advisory board appointed by Fuller was known, after the only thing that stood between Sacco and Vanzetti and the death chair was the mere opinion of the workers Norman Thomas, leader of the Socialist Party, on the eve of the execution indignantly declared that if Sacco and Vanzetti died "justice would be done". Never once, before or after the murders, did any of these pacifist agents of imperialism and collaborators in the murders, brand the proceedings as an example of class vengeance against the working class. And even to this day these same swindlers try to create the illusion that the case was exclusively an affair of the reactionaries of Massachusetts and not at all characteristic of the rest of the United States, in spite of evidence to the contrary. The role of the socialists, anarchists and pacifists was to spread illusions regarding the capitalist courts and the bourgeois state, in order to paralyze the action of the working class, just as today there same gentry are busy spreading illusions regarding the League of Nations and talking of a new peaceful era. Just as they aided the bourgeoisie of the United States to murder Sacco and Vanzetti so today they are playing their familiar role of aiding in the Socialist preparations for the next world slaughter of the working class.

Against this united front of murderous reaction from Calvin Coolidge to Norman Thomas there was but one political force that raised the banner of working class struggle - that was the International Labor Defense. It relentlessly fought against the illusion that two university professors and a court judge would act impartially in the matter and give the world the facts regarding the frame-up. It tirelessly resisted the empty and vicious talk of an abstract justice, standing above the classes. It proclaimed that only the

decisive/

decisive action of the working of
Vannetti. From coast to coast and
workers were aroused by its agitation.
appeared in the streets to voice their
outburst.

1934

But so arrogant, so powerful, so ruthless a
ruling class that they carried out their castardly
and even as the chained lightning shattered the body,
Sacco and Vannetti another conspiracy was on foot in New
York City to burn alive two other Italian working men, who
had secured the sympathy of the bourgeoisie of America for
their activities in the anti-fascist movement against the
black-shirt hordes of Mussolini. These workers, Grecco and
Grillo, were arrested and charged with having killed two
fascists on May 20th. Their trial came after the murder of
Sacco and Vannetti and the publicity that had been aroused
against this outrage was fanned into white heat again by the
American Labor Defense. The bourgeoisie was forced to retreat
before the resentment of the working class those two intended
victims were set free. Thus also it was possible to save
Grecco and Vannetti, the basis was laid for a movement that
will make Grecco and Grillo and that will make it more
difficult in the future for the ruling class to repeat their
treacherous tactics. During this campaign the International
Labor Defense became a mass organization influencing masses
of workers.

However we dare not conclude that there will be no more
murders of working men in America. On the contrary, as the
international situation becomes sharper and the lowering
clouds of war loom, American imperialism, insatiable as
the bottomless pit, will indulge in last-lunatic. But each
time the ruling class sees its best and most courageous fighters
sacrificed upon the altar of imperialism the mass fury will
rise ever higher. The working class will become more and
more aware of the monstrous role of the so-called courts of
law and the miserable and treacherous role of the social-
democrats and pacifists and will learn how to combat relent-
lessly all its class enemies.

Today, on the first anniversary of the martyrdom of
Sacco and Vannetti there is a strike of thousands of mill
workers going on in the town of New Bedford in the State of
Massachusetts and Calvin Coolidge. Those strikers showed
their contempt for Fuller by refusing to accept him as
arbitrator in the dispute when his name was proposed. With-
out any hesitation they declared that the character of Sacco
and Vannetti would not be considered by them except as a
class enemy. Fuller was also a candidate for vice-president
of the United States but even the republican party was afraid
to put him on its ticket because it feared a revival of the
Sacco and Vannetti agitation.

The agitation however will never die. Today, in the
United States, the International Labor Defense is holding
hundreds of memorial meetings that are attended by hundreds
of thousands of workers who will again be reminded of the lessons of
this monstrous crime against labor.

Under the leadership of the
of America the working class an
an irrefutable power that will
abolish and then, instead of

s (Communist) Pr
farmers will
crush America
tearing before

COMMUNIST

Beckler Opens Fire When Threatened for Interfering

Escapes During Excitement;
Dynamite Found in Room of
Suspect in Mining Town

SACCO-VANZETTI MEETING

Shots Break Up Rally on Third
Anniversary of Executions; 3
Arrested in Boston

By United Press
PITTSBURGH — A heckler shot
and killed two Communist speakers
at Avella, Pa., last night when they
threatened him for his interference.

The meeting was one of the Sacco-
Vanzetti anniversary demonstrations
held thruout the country. Avella, a
mining town, has many Communist
sympathizers and the community has
been the scene of several previous
clashes.

The dead are George Harkoff, 35,
and Steve Mina, 40, who were ad-
dressing about 150 persons at a car-
nival.

The assassin, said by police to be
an Italian named Pietro Petrelli,
alias Petrefi, escaped during the ex-
citement which followed. Police
found in his room a quantity of dy-
namite and some soldering irons and
other tools.

Miner Describes Shooting
Frank Mucci, 39, a miner, told
W. B. Dinsmore, Washington Coun-
ty detective, that he saw Petrelli
shoot the two men after they tried
to chase him from the field.

Mrs. Harkoff had addressed the
meeting, Mucci said, when he saw
her in argument with Petrelli.

"If you break up this meeting, we
will break you," Mrs. Harkoff told
Petrelli, according to Mucci. Mina
advanced, swinging a large club at
Petrelli, and the heckler shot him,
Mucci said. He turned on Harkoff
when the latter started after him,
then fired twice and Harkoff fell,
Mucci said. Petrelli then crossed a
creek and disappeared down the Wa-
shash Railroad tracks, according to
Mucci.

Was Free of Reds

No Communistic literature was
found in Petrelli's room, detectives
and state police said. The man had
a reputation as an opponent of
Communism and had voiced and ac-
tuated his opposition in other meetings,
Mucci told the officers.

Speakers at Sacco Memorial Rally

Escapes After Firing 3 Shots;
Police Find Dynamite in
Rooms of Suspected Slayer

(Continued From Page 1)

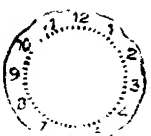
is still pending. Several other times
she has been arrested on similar
charges.

Emulation Speeches Made
NEW YORK—Fifteen hundred
New York Communists gathered
around an imitation electric chair in
Union Square yesterday in their an-
nual demonstration on the anniver-
sary of the Sacco and Vanzetti
deaths. Speakers harangued the
crowd for two hours.

3 Arrested in Boston
BOSTON—Three members of the
International Labor Defense League
were arrested last night when they attempted
to speak at a Sacco-Vanzetti memorial
meeting of 2,000 persons.

'American Fascist' Parade

ATLANTA—Nearly 20,000 mem-
bers of "The American Fascist and
Order of Black Shirts" paraded thru
downtown Atlanta last night in an
announced effort to prevent a Sacco-
Vanzetti demonstration which did
not materialize.



AUG 27

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MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LORING,
Assistant Attorney General.

There is transmitted, enclosed
hereto, a communication referred to
the Department by the President's
Secretary from one [redacted]

relating to the Russo-Venezian
case, for your information and such
action as you deem necessary in
the premises.

Very truly yours,

Enc. #115199

Director.

BUREAU FILES DIVISION
MAILED

NOV. 6 1928

F. M.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE

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Oct. 29th 1918

Honorable Calvin Coolidge
White House, Washington D.C.

Very Respectfully,
Immediate Importance

My dear Sir,

As a patriotic citizen & self constituted private adviser, may I take the liberty of urging your immediate consideration of the following:-

1. The current issue of the "Outlook" features a story of a confession etc. purporting to prove the innocence of Thuyette & Davis.
2. From a date prior to the execution of these suspects, I have been in the possession of evidence, hitherto acceptable to myself alone, that they were guilty of the crime for which they were executed.
3. This evidence, with reasons for withholding it, is at your personal disposal, in strict confidence.
4. Circumstances, make it impossible to admit agents, including those of the Dept. of Justice or Secret Service, to my confidence.
5. Either in view of or regardless of the above, as you may choose, I solemnly urge you in the

2.

Confidence in our form of government, its immediate
announcements and its progress, its success in bringing
about a reconciliation of the two countries, and in
all its aspects, which stands as a light on your
administration.

6. May I point out, that such relations of both sides
and international importance at this instant, and
should be taken into account, as a serious business
political brotherhood.

Respectfully, in strict confidence.

W.S.

I may be reached by telephone at my home, if
necessary - at

57

57C

New York Times,

January 15, 1929.

IN THE SACCO CASE

Affidavits, Made by Convicts in 1923, Are Made Public by Bay State Officials.

DEFENSE COUNSEL ACCUSED

Lubin Charges Attempt to Put Martini in Sacco's Role—Quoted as Quoted as "Never in Bridgewater."

Special to The New York Times.

BOSTON, Mass., Jan. 12.—Frank Silva, alias Paul Martini, who "confessed" in the Oct. 31 issue of The Outlook that it was he and not Bartolomeo Vanzetti who perpetrated the Bridgewater attempted hold-up for which Vanzetti was convicted prior to his trial and execution with Nicola Sacco for the Braintree murder, told Assistant Attorney General Albert Hurwitz in December, 1923, that he had never been in Bridgewater in his life and "didn't even know where Braintree was located."

His affidavit was made under oath to the Massachusetts law officer in the Athens County (Ga.) jail, to which he had been transferred from the penitentiary at Atlanta. The affidavit followed one which Jacob Lubin, a confederate of Silva in a New York mail robbery, made to Hurwitz, in which he gave alleged details of a scheme of counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti to have Silva "take the rap" in the murder case because of his resemblance to Sacco.

Lubin's affidavit was obtained after Mr. Hurwitz had learned that counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti had visited Lubin and Martini at Atlanta. The affidavit said in part:

"On or about April 15, 1922, I was called to the warden's office for a visit. I found Martini and another man whom I learned to be John Jocomo of Boston, working for the defense of certain two men by the name of Vanzetti and Sacco. Martini introduced me to this John Jocomo, and told me that John Jocomo came to see Martini to find out if he had anything to do at any time with their crime at Bridgewater, Mass., committed by Vanzetti and Sacco.

"During the conversation with Jocomo he told me while he personally knew that Martini had nothing to do with it, he had to come here to speak to Martini because he was getting paid for coming over, and had agreed to do whatever counsel for the defense for Sacco and Vanzetti wanted him to do. He then tried to induce Martini to speak to a certain lawyer. Upon my advice Martini consented to talk.

Lubin then goes on to relate that the lawyer later met Jocomo himself. He started to speak to them about the Sacco and Vanzetti case,

and then went to the office of the lawyer and asked how he could be connected with Vanzetti. The lawyer indicated that he had sought his help in securing a statement in Boston and promised that if he would help get him out of the trouble he would be a great help in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. This was accomplished and then Vanzetti went to the lawyer's office and saw Martini's picture on the wall. The lawyer told him that there was one of Sacco. Vanzetti stated it was Martini.

Lubin commented: "The lawyer thought for a minute that if maybe Martini is the one who committed the crime in Bridgewater and Braintree and the mistook Sacco for Martini.

"Wither in his heart knew Martini had nothing to do with the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Martini was with Vanzetti in New York at the time these robberies and murders were committed.

"The lawyer started to question Martini about Bridgewater and Braintree, and very soon found out that Martini didn't know the first thing about either one of these places, nor whether does Martini know anything about this attempted robbery and murder.

Lubin goes on to say that Vanzetti told him later that it was under accusation that he committed the crime. Lubin, the affidavit maker added:

He told me that he was willing to confess to the facts that he perpetrated himself providing I would help him get out of the jail to take the blame partly of the Bridgewater attempted robbery. I asked him then to explain to me fully what he meant.

"My conversation with Martini I was interrupted by the lawyer who said to me, 'there is no use talking, Martini don't know the first thing about Bridgewater or about Braintree but is willing to help along and take the blame providing I will keep the promise that I made him.'

"The promises were these. First, that the lawyer will use his influence to get Martini and myself out of prison, and second, that Vanzetti would go to New York and confess to his part of the perjury which occurred in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. Third, that we would receive \$5,000 apiece before Martini takes the stand, \$5,000 apiece after he goes off the stand, fourth, that Martini will get a good lawyer who will instruct him while Martini is on the stand testifying."

After four days of visiting by the lawyer, Lubin declared, he and his workers left and they never heard from them again about carrying out the plan.

After obtaining the Lubin affidavit, Hurwitz questioned Martini, as Silva, the man who "confessed" the Bridgewater job to The Outlook. The high lights of the questioning follow:

"Were you ever in Bridgewater yourself?"

"No sir."

"Have you ever been to Braintree?"

"I don't even know where it is."

"Did you ever have any participation at all in either the Bridgewater or the Braintree hold-up?"

"No sir."

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NOV 25 1932 AM

Sacco Case Mystery Man Free; Leaves Island Prison in Italy

By The Associated Press

NAPLES, Italy, Nov. 21.—Mario Buda, also known as Mike Boda, "mystery man" of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, was released on Saturday from the penal colony on Ponza Island and sent back to his home in Savignano, having completed a five-year sentence for anti-Fascist activities.

According to his own story, Buda was a close associate of Sacco and Vanzetti, who were executed for murder in Massachusetts more than five years ago.

He slipped away from the United States in 1920, worked as a shoemaker in Italy and was arrested two days before Sacco and Vanzetti were put to death. Edward H. James of Concord, Mass., has visited him twice in prison in an effort to return Buda to America to establish the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

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JAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

CC-287

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Kramer _____
Mr. McGuire _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

KRM:alo:d

Date: October 1, 1942

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. MUMFORD

RE: SACCO-VANZETTI CASE

Nicola Sacco

Attached hereto is photostatic material concerning the captioned matter obtained by the Washington Field Office from the files of Walter Steele of the National Republic Magazine. This material was made available gratuitously by Mr. Steele and was forwarded to the Bureau by letter from the Washington Field Office dated August 27, 1942.

Respectfully,

K. R. McIntire
K. R. McIntire

94-3-4-561

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Enclosures



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EX-16

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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The American Civil Liberties Union crowd and their apocalyptic friends have gotten up a new grafting game called the

BLACK-VANZETTI NATIONAL LEAGUE.

It is not surprising to see in this case of the old theory graft game crowd of years ago as the Black and Vanzetti graft game was patterned upon them. We find on the executive committee of this new red graft game Leonard B. Abbott. Abbott was one of the Berkman anarchist crowd at the time when Roger Bush Baldwin was also one of them and both of them were members of anarchist Berkman's League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, which he got up while in prison for the purpose of helping himself and his pal Tom Whaley. Abbott did not surreptitiously belong to the anarchist crowd, for he was an associate editor of "Freedom - A Journal of Constructive Anarchy" in which Harry Kelly was the leader and which was an openly anarchist publication published by the Freedom group of the Berkman anarchist crowd. Harry Kelly was head of the Ferrer School of Anarchy at Swinton, N.J., and Abbott was chairman of the so-called Forer Association, named for the Spanish anarchist Forer. Tom Whaley's wife was a teacher at one of the Ferrer schools in California. He and others associated with the Berkman gang and later with the Black and Vanzetti agitation, signed the notorious telegram of congratulations to Trotsky which was signed at the time. His relations with Harry Kelly were quite close and he also was a friend of the notorious John D. Danmore, who was made Director General of Labor under William B. Wilson when Wilson was Secretary of Labor, and the Berkman gang stated that their second best method of approach to William B. Wilson when they wanted favors from him was through Leonard B. Abbott and John D. Danmore, but they stated that their best method of approach was through the most intimate friend that Berkman had Edward D. Nolan. He was also one of the Berkman anarchist gang and he approached Wilson directly.

We find in this Black-Vanzetti National League executive committee Stuart Chase, who is an old hanger-on of the Berkman anarchist crowd and who is treasurer of the League for Industrial Democracy, which was also one of the American Civil Liberties Union crowd affairs. Others of the executive committee are Robert Mares Levert, B.W. Haddock, Forrest Bailey, Herman Haggood and John Haynes Holmes of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee. Elizabeth Glendower Evans is also on it. She is perhaps the most prominent member in Boston of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which, of course, is virtually a feminine branch of the American Civil Liberties Union. Robert L. Hall is on it and so is Paul Weissenden, who has been mixed up with radicals of various sorts. Michael R. Cahn, the ACLU attorney Morris L. Ernst, John Lovejoy Elliott, Jessica Henderson, Karl Kisevlynn and Arthur Warner are others, and Nellie Randall is executive secretary. In it we also have Ella Reeve Baker, who has for years been one of the Communist stand-bys as a lecturer and, as might be expected, Jane Addams, head of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and prominent on the American Civil Liberties Union national committee is in this new communist-anarchist venture. Will her friends explain why she is always associating with open communists and anarchists, disloyalists, etc. - those of a kind too notorious for her to be ignorant of who and what they are? Professor John Dewey is there as might be expected, but as a front for communist schemes he is losing his efficiency - in fact so much so that when one discovers his name one at once looks for the communist significance. As a front he is more transparent, as is happening in the case of William Allen White.

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Will Durant; Elizabeth Gilman; Bishop Paul Jones; Congressman McCardia; A.J. Muste; John Kevin Barry of the ACLU; Vida B. Scudder of the ACLU; Upton Sinclair and Oswald Garrison Villard of the ACLU; and Mary E. Woolley of Mt. Holyoke are among other names which are frequently found in company that is doing work pleasing to the communists.

This organization sends out, over the signature of Robert M. La Follette, a characteristic communist agitation card which in its nature recalls the fact that at an IWW meeting in Newen Hall in June Adams' Hall House Lovett spread the murder of American Legion men at Centralia by the IWW.

Doubtless the American Civil Liberties Union sender list and any others who can be duped will be plied with requests for contributions for the Sacco-Vanzetti National League and statements of the stock communist agitation graft game type will be broadcast for the purpose. Such organizations thrive by obtaining money from dupes under false pretenses and it seems in most cases quite useless to warn the suckers.

When Hungary Joe, the king of bunco steers, was at last caught and was on trial in court, he was asked how he found so many victims. He replied that a fool was born every minute and the estimate was rather too low than too high. This, I believe, was the origin of the phrase "a sucker is born every minute". Asked if his frank confession would not spoil his business when he got out of jail, he promptly replied, "No, you don't warn a fool!"

The American Civil Liberties Union sender list bears testimony to the correctness of Hungary Joe's assertion.

FRANCIS BALSTON WELCH

June 14, 1928.

(Verified and released by H.A. Jung, June 18th, 1928.
The Sacco-Vanzetti National League will endeavor to obtain contributions by enlisting the support of well-intentioned forward-looking Christians. Aid of any kind given to this movement will serve as an auxiliary of the brand of radicalism that is promoting the "world revolutionary" idea.)

An American Civil Liberties Union National Committeeman in Action

False Statements of Felix Frankfurter of Harvard Law School in Sacco-Vanzetti Case

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for March, and with the endorsement of the editor of that journal, appeared an article on the Sacco and Vanzetti case which was from start to finish grossly misleading and evidently meant to assist the Communists who were endeavoring to have their comrade-murderers escape the penalty of their crime. This article was by Professor Felix Frankfurter of the Harvard Law School, which connection lent, in the minds of the Public, plausibility to what he wrote. Now Frankfurter is also one of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, which Union makes a specialty of supporting anarchists, Communists and other subversive criminals who are endeavoring to undermine and overthrow our Government, Constitution and free institutions and play directly into the hands of the Russian Communists. Frankfurter was formerly counsel for the United States committee which, on account of its action, was known as the Mooney White-washing Committee, which made a palliative report in the interest of the convicted wholesale murderer, Tom Mooney, and the graft game and agitation in the Sacco and Vanzetti case bear throughout a strong resemblance to that in the Mooney case. Frankfurter also made an investigation in the Babus case where members of the IWW were run out of town and his report, favorable to the IWW criminals and adverse to the decent citizens, in that case was characterized by ex-President Roosevelt, in a letter to Frankfurter himself, as "a thoroughly misleading document as could be written on the subject." Frankfurter and Ernst Freund, Frank F. Walsh, and David Wallerstein, who are also members of the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee, and with Edward Peard and Ezekiah Chafee, Jr., who are like Frankfurter professors of law at Harvard, several members of the Committee of 48, and Joshua H. Balston, counsel for much of the red element in union labor and at the time for Louis F. Post, were among the twelve men who published themselves as the National Popular Government League and made a series of charges against the Department of Justice which tended to blacken the characters of members of the Department in the interest of Communists and anarchists who had been arrested for deportation. Post was then Assistant Secretary of Labor and William B. Wilson Secretary of Labor and the Department of Labor was, as Attorney General Palmer phrased it, seeking to mollify the laws of Congress by refusing to deport anarchists according to law. Post even went so far as to say that Magaw, who confessed he was an anarchist and whose friends testified that he was an anarchist, was not an anarchist in order to avoid deporting him. A committee of Congress investigated these charges made by the National Popular Government League and found that they were the usual stock charges of the anarchists and Communists which these men were giving currency and very largely wholly mendacious, while much small amount of criticism as might justly have been made occasionally of some enthusiastic subordinate was twisted and magnified so as to be totally misleading.

On the American Civil Liberties Union National Committee with Frankfurter we find that right hand man of the Russian Communists, William Z. Foster, an open and professed Communist and today the leading Communist in the United States. We find Norman Hapgood, who has just issued a book in which he inverts the meanings of words and endeavors to make out that all who oppose communism are enemies of labor and that the only real progressives are those who play the Communist game. We find Morris Hillquit, who was counsel for the Russian Communists. We find Frederic C. Howe, who was exposed in his relations with the anarchists by a Congressional committee of investigation. We find Scott Nearing, a former editor of the *Revolutionary Age* which undertook to put over the most extreme teachings of Lenin and encouraged boring-from-within in our Army and Navy in endeavoring to make our soldiers and sailors traitors to the country. We find Robert Morris Lovett of the University of Chicago who recently, at Jane Addams' Hull House in Chicago, addressed an IWW meeting held there at which he undertook to justify the murder by the IWW of American Legion men at Centralia. We find Jane Addams, head of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and formerly, like Frank F. Walsh, Lynn J. Frazier, Amos Pinchot, Frederic C. Howe, Timothy Shea, William Lenke, Glenn E. Plumb, Walter president of the Public Ownership League of America, on whose Executive Committee we find Duncan McDonald, the Communists' first choice for President in 1924; Edward F. Dunne, an open supporter of the Communists and others of the same stripe. Miss Addams is a great friend of Robert Morris Lovett, whom she got to address the summer meeting of the Women's International League

for Peace and Freedom some years ago. She was also one of the speakers advertised by the Communist organ, the *Daily Worker*, in the Communist "Hands Off China" meeting in Ashland Auditorium, in Chicago on May 6th. Cannon, several times Socialist candidate for Mayor, was another on the program of speakers, while another was ex-professor Carl Haasler, intimate friend of Robert Morris Lovett and managing editor of the Communist *Federated Press*. Haasler was the man whom Whitney exposed in "Reds in America" as having said that he would not support the Government of the United States, but would be glad to kill for the purpose of overthrowing it. He is one of those who were jailed as draft evaders. We also find on the program of speakers with Jane Addams the man who calls himself Manuel Gomez, an assumed name, who is secretary of the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, which is openly a Communist affair and openly bent on overthrowing the Government of the United States and making trouble between it and other governments. Congressman Babeth was another listed speaker and representative of the Communist Party in China were others. Anarchist Berkman's friend, George F. West, is another of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. So is Arthur LeBaron, founder of the IWW. James A. Duane, exposed as one of the leaders in the attempted insurrection in Seattle is another. Edmund C. Evans was and Edward W. Evans is a member. Elizabeth Garley Flynn, IWW and Communist agitator, is another and we also find Norman Hapgood and Arthur Garfield Hays and James H. Maurer, who was exposed by Attorney General Palmer during war times for his disloyal utterances, his greetings to his Socialist and anarchist friends and his urging of rebellion. There are many others of the same stripe.

It is not surprising, then, that Professor Frankfurter should misrepresent the Courts and the orderly process of justice in the interest of the professed Anarchist and Communist, Sacco and Vanzetti, but it is perhaps surprising that the *Atlantic Monthly* should commend what he has written.

The Boston Evening Transcript published on Monday April 24th, an exposure of Frankfurter's gross misstatements. This is the paper that published in full the first edition of Whitney's "Reds in America" and is noted for other patriotic work of the kind. It is one of the all too few papers that give a considerable amount of space to really patriotic work.

The exposure was written by Dean John H. Wigmore, a noted authority on evidence, a graduate of Harvard and the Harvard Law School, who had been a practicing lawyer in Boston and a former president of the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. He is now Dean of the Law School of Northwestern University.

Through the kindness of the *Transcript* I am enabled to print below Dean Wigmore's exposure of the false and inexcusable statements of the Frankfurter article, which he terms a gross libel against the Courts of Massachusetts and he shows why, as he terms it, the *Atlantic Monthly* article is "wholly devoid of credit as a basis for outsiders to form an opinion."

Frankfurter tries to convey the impression that the jury was hand picked. In reality there was a panel of about 675 jurors examined to get 12 for the trial and the counsel for the defense—for Sacco and Vanzetti—accepted all of the jurors as satisfactory. When the last juror was chosen the defense counsel had exhausted his challenges and counsel for the prosecution offered to challenge that juror if the defense wished, making one of the prosecution's challenges for the purpose. Nothing could have been fairer.


Frankfurter says that the Supreme Judicial Court cannot pass on the facts of the case in the lower Court, but it is shown that the Supreme Judicial Court not only can pass on the facts under a statute of the State giving it that authority and also under the common law, but that it did pass on the facts.

Other misrepresentations of Frankfurter are exposed.

Frankfurter conveys the impression that Sacco and Vanzetti were prosecuted as *reds*, which is the direct opposite of the truth. The whole prosecution had put in all its side of the case and the defense was well along in putting in its side of the case when counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti brought out the fact that they were "communists as a reason why they went into hiding after the murder was committed. They said they were afraid of being deported as *reds* as an excuse for such hiding but it was shown that Sacco had in his possession at that time a passport he had gotten for the purpose of taking his family abroad a few days after he was arrested, so that he was not afraid of being deported at all. This fact Frankfurter carefully conceals. The trial was one for murder and banditry and had nothing whatever to do with redness of any sort until the subject was introduced by Sacco and Vanzetti's own counsel.

As for the fairness of the case, Sacco and Vanzetti had a thoroughly fair trial and at the close of the evidence their counsel made not a single request for instructions to the Judge and at the conclusion of the Judge's charge they took not a single exception to the charge, which was the direct opposite of the impression Frankfurter conveys. On the contrary counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti commended the counsel for the prosecution, Mr. Katzmann, and said his clients had had every patience and every consideration shown them and commended the laws of Massachusetts.

As for the international aspect of the trial which Frankfurter dwells on, that was all created afterwards, largely



61-10873-1

A VERY FINAL FURRY

Now let us see how the plaintiff goes about it to prove his case to the jury.

2.2.2.2. *Phylogenetic relationships*

Well, these are three important representations in the plaintiff's "concrete narrative" as to the trial in question.

2.—An important part of the prosecution's case was the capture line (admittedly, told by the accused on their arrest—lies about their weapons and their where

The "Pretend Day"

So that the business of a "packed" jury was basic, and worthy of unrelenting yellow journalism. And the public can rest well satisfied with the pronouncement of the Supreme Court (expressed by the plausible pandit), in the opinion denying the motion for a new trial on this ground (181 Northwestern Reporter 289) that "to fraud or partiality in favor of the Commonwealth, or material injury to the defendants is shown."

2.—Again, at the end of the trial, on taking the trial judge's opinion on Guilty of the second motion for a new trial (Oct. 28, 1935) the plaintiff's guilt refers to us as "a farange of misrepresentation, misapprehensions, suggestions and embellishments, and even absurd illustrations of them."

...the
...These men, working with
...of guilt, were explained by
...to be due to their conviction
...they were being sentenced
...to deportation or to Italy, and
...to Italy, and to their fear
...of being deported to Italy. Several minor
...elements demonstrated the truth of the
...explanation; but the main and convincing
...one, as against Sacco's explanation, was
...that he had obtained and carried in his
...possession at the very moment of arrest on
...May 5, 1926, a passport upon which he and
...his family depended to sail for Italy two
...days later. The defendant's own testi-
...mony shows the bearing of this fact: Q—

"Mr. Sacco, you say you feared deportation, and that is why you told all these lies and why you did what you did?" Answer — "Yes." Q—"Mr. Sacco, at the very time when you were telling these lies, you

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President's staff when he is asked by the speaker to say that he is a member of the staff of Harvard College, which indicates the Public has knowledge that what he says is reliable.

Major Baldwin, a Member of the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed before the House Committee as to its purpose and principles. He said in part:

"Language unaccompanied by an act, even if the logical consequence of it had effect in the perpetration of the act, is fundamentally within our conception of free speech. For instance, the advocacy of a crime, unaccompanied by any act, is within the legitimate scope of free speech. . . . I would say on behalf of the entire committee that all of them subscribe the legal theory of constructive intent, and that all of them believe in the right of persons to advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence."

In a letter from Baldwin to the German agent Loebner, who was also one of the originators of the communist "Federated Press", Baldwin said, "We want to, also, look like patriots in everything we do. We want to get a lot of good flags, talk a good deal about the Constitution and what our forefathers wanted to make of this country and to show that we are the fellows that really stand for the spirit of our institutions."

A division of the ACLU states: "Laws purporting to prevent the advocacy of the 'overthrow of the government by force or violence' are all violations of the right of free speech."

The Report comments: "If we analyze the position taken by the American Civil Liberties Union we will find that what is sought is not freedom of speech, freedom of press or freedom of assemblies, but Human. In other words, they are no crime in the advocacy of crime, provided the crime of the speaker is not carried into effect."

"An examination, however, of the propaganda and speeches which has been carried on in favor of the financial overthrow of this government shows that it does not consist of a mere expression of opinion, but invariably advocates measures for its effectuation."

"The effect of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union is to create in the minds of the ill-informed people the impression that it is un-American to interfere with the activities of those who seek to destroy American institutions." "It is interesting to note that the majority of the American Civil Liberties Union is those only where the abuse of free speech is called in question because of attacks upon property or government."

"The American Civil Liberties Union, in the last analysis, is a supporter of all subversive movements, and its propaganda is detrimental to the interests of the State."

At Hearing Number 68. 1. 11 of the House Committee on Immigration, Allen S. Oxnard appeared as a representative of the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Chairman asked him, "You think that an alien has a perfect right to come here and get into a labor union, preach communism all he wants to, and advocate the overthrow of Government?" Mr. Oxnard, "Yes."

Mr. Ralston of the Committee, "Did I understand you to say that an alien has a right to preach the overthrow of Government, and anarchy?" Mr. Oxnard, "Yes."

Among the latest things pleasing to the Communists, gotten up by the ACLU crowd, is the National Citizens' Committee on Relations with Latin America.

It should not be lost sight of that immediacy is the chief asset of the Communists, and the American Civil Liberties Union plays the Communist game.

FRANCIS BALDWIN WILSON

May 14, 1927.

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My object is obtained if I have in-
stead to follow members of the bar if
they need not give any credit to this
on Massachusetts justice; and that the
supreme justices of the Massachusetts
Supreme Judicial Court should give out-
standing confidence to the fairness of the trial
the justice of the verdict.

A Typical Communist Issue

Re Sacco and Vanzetti Book Publishing Association. Colla Polinski, Secretary. Leonard D. Abbott, Treasurer. Sacco and Vanzetti, Managing Editors.

Leonard D. Abbott was one of the editors of "Freedom - a Journal of Constructive Anarchy." He belonged to the "Freedom" group of the Berkman anarchist group. He was a friend of John D. Brinsford, Director-General of Labor, and was part of the second preferred route of the Berkman anarchist group for reaching William B. Wilson when Secretary of Labor, as Brinsford was known as William B. Wilson's nephew and was a protégé of Wilson. The anarchists, like the Communists, took up the Sacco and Vanzetti agitation.

Among these signing appeals in this paper are:

Russ Rymer, writing from Montevideo.

Professor J. E. Hoelling, of the Philosophy Department of Harvard University, states that Sacco and Vanzetti are "as innocent as you or I".

Walter Winchell says that the labor movement has been in jail for seven years. Colla Polinski signs a statement as secretary giving the advisory committee of the Sacco and Vanzetti Students Committee. She states that one of the most successful meetings was held in Columbia University and that the work of the Committee consisted in holding meetings in colleges and universities. She omits to state the collection of funds and into whose pockets they went.

William F. Montague, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, states that Sacco and Vanzetti are innocent.

Morris R. Cohen, Professor of Philosophy in the College of the City of New York, compares the Sacco and Vanzetti case to the Dreyfus case and states that Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted because they were foreigners and Reds, which he must have known was not so.

John Haynes Holmes adds his bit in the same strain.

Recommends

Paul F. Brissenden, Professor of ~~PHILOSOPHY~~ in Columbia University, states that the law cannot be allowed to take its course.

B. W. Husbach has an article headed, "How Can We Be Passive?" He is a member of the ACLU national committee and a publisher of red and demoralizing literature.

Other pro-Sacco and Vanzetti articles are by Robert W. Elder, Paul W. Hollander, editor of the "Survey" and one of the founders of the Foreign Policy Association; Isidor Pearlman, of Columbia University; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, whose article is captioned, "A Judicial Crime." Wise was one of the American Civil Liberties Union national committee, and I am informed by an insider was in the pay of the Communist crowd during the Pearsall strike. Ernst Hugel, of Columbia University, has an article, "Condemned Because of Their Radical Views". Ralph Cheney and Lucia Trent agitate for a poetic anthology in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti. E. C. Wells has what is called "An Indictment of the Massachusetts authorities."

The Students' Sacco and Vanzetti Committee membership was not confined to students only. The advisory board consists of Paul F. Brissenden, of Columbia University, who in the past has been an aid and abettor of the KKK; Pres. Henry George Griffin, of Union Theological Seminary; Mary R. Cohen; Prof. Morris R. Cohen, of U.C.L.A.; Herbert Gouly, editor of the "New Republic"; Prof. John Dewey, of Columbia University; Beatrice Lawrence Harle; Prof. Edward Ward Harle, of Columbia University; Prof. Irwin Edman, of Columbia University; Robert S. Elder, Attorney; Raymond B. Denick, Attorney; Oswald K. Friedman, Attorney; John Haynes Holmes, Pastor of Community Church; B. W. Husbach, Publisher; Paul W. Hollander,

Editor of "The Survey", Harry W. Sullivan, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.;
Mittell, of Columbia University, New York; Dr. J. H. Johnson, of Columbia University,
New York; Harry A. Overstreet, of University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.;
Director of the Bureau for International Research, United States National
Archives, and Rev. Douglas C. Watt, of the Yale University.

He is the author of the American Syllabic Alphabet, and has been
associated with them in other activities during the past few years.

AMERICAN SYLLABIC ALPHABET

November 7, 1927.

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This was purely a Communist affair and the one of the most remarkable graft games ever put over on the public. The purpose was to discredit courts, law and government in the interests of communism and it was subtly and carefully planned for that purpose.

An article in the New Republic - a paper of bad reputation - in 1938 commenting on this case stated that usually international syndicates of defendants charged with murder were brought out by the State, but in this case the prosecution had taken the opposite course. Of course the object of the Communist agitation is to raise funds for the agitators, the collectors and their friends and aiders and it is estimated that at least \$5,000,000 were so raised of which probably over \$250,000 went to the fingers of the collectors, the agitators and their friends and aiders and it was represented, as part of the agitation, that these and thousands were being persecuted as Reds and not prosecuted for the crimes they had committed, which, of course, was obviously false.

It was also well known that the President of the United States had no power whatever in the matter as it was purely a Massachusetts State affair. Governor Fuller appointed his Committee who carefully reviewed all the evidence, as he also did, and he even went to the extreme length of interviewing the jury and the witnesses in addition to seeing the counsel for the defendants and he and his Committee both found that they had been so irregularities. The Communists had asked for the appointment of a Committee but as soon as the Committee reported they and their friends shifted their ground and tried other species methods of attack and their mendacity still continued work overtime. At this stage of the game after the Governor's report and when it was obvious that it could be of no benefit except for purposes of Communist agitation, the Rev. Harry F. Ward, Chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union, with the assistance of some other ACLU members got up a Committee to send a telegram to the President ostensibly on behalf of Essex and Vannetti but all that it really amounted to was an additional stimulus to Communist agitation and additional dirt thrown in the eyes of victims of Communist deceit. It of course, however, was an aid and stimulus to the graft game. The names affixed to this telegram are given in Serial No. 171 of the Daily Data Sheets of the Ray Run of America as follows:

David Starr Jordan, Mickey Paul Jones, Oswald G. Villard, Glenn Frank, Rev. John A. Ryan, Fannie Hurst, Rev. E. A. Bigelow, John F. Sinclair, Francis Kane, Louis F. Post, Rev. E. A. Jenkins, Alice C. Blackwell, Frederic C. Howe, Lena Solo, Upton Sinclair, Henry K. Hunt, Mrs. J. S. Codman, Mr. J. Anderson, Godfrey Block, A. J. Ruste, Partington, Dr. B. Friedman, Prof. F. Levy, E. A. Heickeljohn, John Davis Byrne, Harriet S. Fletcher, E. S. Colby, Horace Liveright, Prof. J. Jastrow, Elizabeth Gilman, Mr. S. Jackson, Vida B. Souder, Ruth S. Thompson, Delafield Day, Ann W. Cronin, Isaac Ben Levine, Ruth Collins, Fremont Glaser, Robert H. Lovett, Alex. Weikelljohn, Bishop E. F. Limer, Graham Taylor, Ben Lincoln, Owen E. Lovejoy, Arthur S. Eys, Ida M. Farwell, Felix Adler, Rev. J. Myers, Jr., Gilson Gardner, Joseph A. Krutsh, John S. Manning, Mrs. Walter Pope, George E. Howard, John B. Milvostre, Charles Fitzhugh, Carl Van Doren, Rev. E. O. Dorton, Mrs. E. A. Codman, Samovlone Howard, Mary C. Byrle, Com. F. E. McQuarrie, Helen Boardman, Rev. E. F. Ford, Mary C. Ford, Mrs. Max Engelhardt, Jr., John F. Byrle, Rev. and Mrs. Eliot White, Agnes Garrison, Walter Lippett, Luther E. Widen, Thomas C. Brown, Arthur Shields, Myron Collins, Florence Wood, Katherine Anne Porter, Florence Kelley, J. Bernard Wilson, Ruth Pickering, E. W. Merrill, Lucy Washburn, Helena S. Buckley, Katherine Ford Fisher, Floyd Dell, Emily Halliwell, Charlotte S. Halliwell, Grace S. Barnum, Helen Gwynne, Ellen A. Korman, F. J. Paragh, Margaret Marshall, Guy L. Whipple, Mrs. Anna Gray, Homer Morris L. W. Haglund, Shirley V. Kelley, Dr. C. W. William Clegg, E. P. Beckwith, Ralph Chaney, Rev. E. S. Chaffee, Louis Gould, Louis Kent, Clarine Nicholson, Rockwell Kent, Mary Dean Powell, John Das Passes, Arthur Warner, Ernestine Evans, Frank P. Walsh, Mary Anna Wilson, Winifred Ryall, John H. Lawson, Louis Leistikow, Allen Carpenter, E. D. Mallis R. Gray, Alfred Liebman, Anne Gerstvet, Alicia Rosenthal, Julie Rosenthal,

Robert C. Ewing, secretary of the department of social relations of the Congregational Churches of the United States; Harry Emerson Peadick, professor at the Union Theological Seminary, New York; Raymond Collins, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Cambridge, Mass.; and the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Cleveland; Harry M. Collins, past-

president of the Union Theological Seminary, New York; Clement A. Clarke, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Portland, Me.; Albert C. McFadden, editor of the Christian Register, Boston; Charles V. Gillette, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Chicago; William E. Gilroy, editor of the Congregationalist, Boston; Lewis S. Hartman, editor of the Herald, Boston; Harold L. Streiten, pastor of the Pilgrim Congregational Church, Worcester; Robert C. McLaughlin, pastor of the Pleasant Congregational Church, Worcester; Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of the Christian Century, Chicago; L. Talbot, pastor of the Washington Congregational Church, Toledo, O.; and Robert Maki, pastor of the First Congregational Church, Holyoke.

We learn from Data Sheet No. 175 of another list of appellants for Deane and Vansetti which appeared in the Survey. They are given as follows, classified as to occupations:

College and University Professors: John A. Commons, Wisconsin; Henry Walcott Farnham, Yale; Donald J. Henderson, Rutgers; William Ernest Becking, Harvard; Edward E. Kane, ex-president, Yale-in-China; Joseph Jablonover, Ethical Culture School; William Popperell Hastings, Columbia; Henry A. Pusey, Wellesley; E. F. Ross, Johns Hopkins; Arthur L. Rogers, Yale; Arthur N. Schlesinger, Harvard; Henry R. Senger, Columbia; Patrick Smith, Washington; Ellen Elise Talbot, Wellesley; Lily R. Tyler, Bryn Mawr; Frank Parker Whitney, Vassar; William Wittler, Boston; Mary E. Peasley, Mount Holyoke.

Social Workers: Michael M. Davis, New York; Mary A. Dearborn, president of the American Association of Social Workers; Edward T. Devine, dean of the Graduate School of Simmons University; John A. Fitch, New York School of Social Work; Raymond C. Fuller, National Conference on the Christian City of Life; Eleanor H. Mason, secretary, Society for Charities, Pittsburgh; George E. Becker, Chicago; C. Marion Egan, director, Orphans' Guardians, Phila. Delphic; Elizabeth E. Luzzari, New York; Amy Baker, secretary, Consumers' League, Toledo; Elizabeth McConnell, Cornell Clinic; Mary E. McCrell, former Commissioner of Public Welfare, Chicago; Frances E. Allen, chief director, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work; John Nelson, Cambridge, Mass.; V. S. Passag, chairman, Brooklyn Forum; Mary A. Simchewitz, New York; Greenwich House; Walter L. Salomon, headmaster, University Settlement; Allen Giles Starr, Pull House, Chicago; Graham Tyler, warden, Ohio State Prison; Sidney A. Yeller, Trent Kaufman Settlement, Pittsburgh; Margaret A. Wales, director, Visiting Nurse Association.

Writers and Editors: Harry Austin, Steadman Hall, Topeka, Kan.; Francis Hill Bigelow, Cambridge, Mass.; Howard Brubaker, of the New York; J. Nelson Cattell, editor of Science, School and Society; J. I. Chamberlin, editor, Boston Evening Transcript; John S. Codman, Boston; Florence Comverse; Valdo L. Cook, editor, Springfield Republican; Lewis S. Gannett, editor, The Nation; James L. Hollman, William Weaver, of Life; H. Rollin Howland; John Howard Lawson; Hugh Lottin; Jean Kuyper Bokeman; Jeanette Marks; Dr. Barnard Myers, editor, Columbia University Optometrist; Oscar S. Sennock, editor, Musical Quarterly; Ida R. Terrell; Kendrick William Van Loan; Oswald Garrison Villard, editor, The Nation; Leon R. Whipple; W. E. Woodruff; Edith Franklin Wyatt.

Lawyers, Physicians, Clergymen and Business Men: Robert John T. Vance, Jr., law librarian of Congress; Thomas Reed Powell, Harvard; Charles F. Anderson, United States Judge, North Dakota; Basil H. Bass; C. C. Burlington; Elmer Hyman; Arthur Griffiths; Nicholas Kelley; Edwin J. Macerale; Ralph Anderson; Ruth Standish Baldwin; Mrs. George B. Coleman; Mrs. J. Malcolm Forbes, Boston; Mary P. Sanford; Mrs. Walter Weyl; Alice Hamilton, Harvard; Rev. John V. Darr, Northampton, Mass.; Rev. Edward Staples Brown, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. Angus Dun, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. Robert C. Harring, secretary, Congressional Commission on Social Service; Rev. John Howard Lathrop, Brooklyn; Rev. John Howard Bellish, Brooklyn; F. L. Crouch, formerly secretary of the Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church; James K. Halling, secretary of the Commission on Social Service and Social Work; Dr. A. A. Goldstein, director, Mount Sinai Hospital; Dr. Charles Russell Lowell Putnam, Mount Sinai Hospital.

director, American Civil Liberties Union; C. G. Birchard, Boston; Gooding C. Brown, East Orange, N. J.; J. E. Trinkle, Stock Exchange; Mrs. Howard S. Gans; Frances Ingram; Evelyn Preston.

Scientists at Wood's Hole, Mass.: Prof. William B. Anderson, University of Pennsylvania; Prof. Dotlev W. Brink, Dartmouth; Joseph Rabin, Columbia; Prof. E. E. Just, Harvard; Prof. V. C. Curtis, Wisconsin; A. E. Starbuck, Carnegie Institution; L. A. Jensenfield, Rockefeller Institute; Jacques Bronckhorst, Rockefeller Institute; William Cottell, Cornell; Prof. Robert Chambers, Cornell; Theodore P. Dobson, Columbia; Sally H. Schrader, Bryn Mawr; Franz Schrader, Bryn Mawr; Prof. L. H. Greve, Wabash; C. B. Plunkett, New York University.

Here again we find a representative of the Children's Bureau and a Well House, namely Dr. Mary E. Beard. Bryn Mawr College is also represented. Again there comes to the front members of the American Civil Liberties Union and its National Committee and of organizations affiliated with it, members prominent in the ACLU, people who formerly appealed for the IRS and many names those interested in fighting against communism frequently come forward as supporters of things that please the Communists and aid their cause.

TO :

FROM :

SUBJECT :

NICOLA SACCO AND BARTOLAMEO VANTINI, ALIENISTS
RADICAL MATTERS
BUREAU FILE # 61-126

The attached enclosure consists of long hand work sheets, stenographic notebooks, extra copies of reports, memoranda and miscellaneous correspondence used in the investigation of the above captioned case, and is presently carried as a bulky enclosure under file # 61-126.

In view of the fact that the notebooks and work sheets have served their purpose, and since we already have copies of the rest of the material in file, does not appear that the Bureau would have any further use for this enclosure.

RECOMMENDATION:

Inasmuch as this enclosure is occupying valuable space in the Records Section, it is requested that the file be reviewed by the Security Division for their opinion as to the disposition of this material.

It is recommended that the enclosure be destroyed here at the Seat of the Government.

*0/108 Security Section
J. J. [unclear]
5-22-45
W.D.*

*61-126-81371
61-126-84
FBI
20 MAY 23 1945*

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50 MAY 20 1945



United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
100 Milk Street
Boston 9, Massachusetts.

IN REPLY, PLEASE REFER TO

FILE NO.

January 20, 1951 Belmont

Director
FBI

Atten: Mr. L. B. NICHOLS

Re: SACCO-VANZETTI CASE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Clegg	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Nease	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

Dear Sir:

At the time of the appearance of Mr. L. B. NICHOLS before the Harvard Law School Forum, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, on December 8, 1950, he expressed an interest in obtaining from Special Agent W. J. WEST of this office, a memorandum of the latter's personal knowledge of the SACCO-VANZETTI trial, recently mentioned in the book entitled "Federal Bureau of Investigation" by MAX LOWENTHAL of New York City.

A review of that rather lengthy writing indicates a comparatively short reference on pp. 279-280, reading in part: "The Bureau of Investigation made use of opportunities to assist in State cases against radicals even when the specific indictments had nothing to do with the issue of radicalism. The best known example of those was the SACCO-VANZETTI case in Massachusetts. Two Italian immigrants, NICOLA SACCO, a cobbler, and BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI, a fish peddler, were under Bureau of Investigation surveillance because of their belief in radical theories. The two men were tried and convicted for the murder of payroll guards in South Braintree, Massachusetts". The piece then goes on to cite an affidavit received from an ex-Agent of the Bureau, alleging receipt of instructions from Washington to aid the State in its conviction for murder in return for information from the State that would aid in the deportation of the defendants in the event of their acquittal of murder.

Mr. WEST, as he now recalls, was Assistant Division Superintendent at Boston, in charge of intelligence matters, when the two defendants were arrested thirty years ago by Massachusetts authorities in or about May, 1920, for the payroll hold-up and murder at South Braintree. One of the two defendants, believed to be VANZETTI, was involved in another hold-up at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, and both of them were tried and convicted for the hold-up and murder at South Braintree. Without recourse to records, it is the belief of Mr. WEST that one of them, possibly VANZETTI, prior to the murder trial, had

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Director:

Re: SACCO-VANZETTI CASE

already been convicted of the other hold-up at Bridgewater. At any rate, both were arrested by local authorities in May, 1920.

As to the statement of LOWENTHAL that they "were under Bureau of Investigation surveillance because of their belief in radical theories" at the time of their arrests, this was absolutely without any foundation in fact. It is the present recollection of Mr. WEST that nothing was known of them in the Boston office at the time of their arrest or prior thereto, with the possible exception of one short report of a meeting of Italian anarchists at Milford, Massachusetts, some two or three years before 1920, in which the name of one of them, which not now recalled, appeared among the names of other alleged Italian anarchists present thereat. Other than this nothing was known of them here.

At the time of arrest, it is believed, they had so-called radical literature in their possession and it subsequently came to light that they had been in Mexico during the war period to avoid possibility of being drafted, because of their opposition to the Selective Service Act. This would have accounted, probably, for the lack of information in our files concerning them during the period prior to arrest.

Further, before the murder trial, it was agreed between counsel for both sides that no reference was to be made to their ideologies or so-called radical activities, and no reference was made thereto until their own counsel brought it into the case. His explanation of the reason for the introduction of such evidence is not now recalled, but it is recalled that counsel for the defense was the first to introduce that subject.

In 1918 or 1919 bombs had been exploded in seven or more cities of the United States at practically the same time on the same day. One was exploded outside the home of the Attorney General in Washington, D. C., and its explosion was apparently premature, as the man who was placing it was killed in the act. One of those bombs was exploded at the home of a local district court judge in Boston, who had previously sentenced some so-called radicals. Naturally, as a result of those anarchistic activities the Bureau and Department were interested.

On September 16, 1920, a bomb was exploded in Wall Street, New York City, killing more than thirty persons, beyond question the

Director:

Re: SACCO-VANZETTI CASE.

work of an anarchist or anarchists. In the summer of 1920 there was formed in Boston the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Fund, in which it was reported, over three hundred thousand dollars was eventually collected, and that organization circularized the entire world. Many of the contributors were recognized as anarchists, although most, of course, were not. The Bureau and Department were, naturally, interested in the anarchist contributors to the fund in the hope of obtaining evidence concerning the Washington and New York bomb explosions.

The reference in Mr. LOWENTHAL'S book to an affidavit of an ex-Agent, referred to above, is undoubtedly a reference to one of several ex-employees who were not employees of the Bureau in May, 1920, having come in under appointment by Director BURNS in 1921, or at any rate, who were fired by Director HOOVER in or about July, 1924. A Mr. WILLIAM G. THOMPSON, now deceased, who was counsel here at one time for SACCO and VANZETTI, collected all of those affidavits. SACCO and VANZETTI were electrocuted by the State in August, 1927.

Mr. WEST reports that the Bureau has a file on the SACCO-VANZETTI case, whereas Boston now has nothing in its files that would be of any assistance, as all Boston files up to February 22, 1932, or thereabouts, were removed to New York City for storage in the old Federal Building on Washington Street there, when the Boston Office was closed. Hence, this relation is from the present recollection of Special Agent WEST.

If the Bureau desires or can utilize a fuller account from Special Agent WEST perhaps it would be well to instruct Mr. WEST to go to Washington in order that he might have the entire file available for perusal and study.

*I think this should
be done
now*

Very truly yours

J. E. Thornton
J. E. THORNTON
SAC

JET:EPL

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: January 23, 1951

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: SACCO-VANZETTI CASE

The files and reports of the Bureau in the 1919-24 era are sketchy, to say the least. Over the years the critics have been harping on the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, and while our files do give us a sketchy account of what happened in the Bureau, there has always been some question in my mind as to the knowledge of our office in Boston. At that time Special Agent S. J. West was actively connected with the Sacco-Vanzetti Case, in fact, he was the one who had conferences with the defense attorneys.

When I was in Boston in December I asked SAC Thornton to have West prepare a detailed memorandum of his recollections of just what the Bureau did or didn't do, bearing in mind that the critics usually rest their case upon the affidavits of two former Agents of the Bureau who made the statement that the Bureau files contained information which would establish the innocence of Sacco-Vanzetti. We are now in receipt of the attached letter from SAC Thornton advising that the files of the Boston Office on Sacco-Vanzetti were transferred to New York for storage in the old Federal Building when the Boston Office was closed on February 22, 1932.

Mr. Thornton suggests if the Bureau desires a fuller account from Mr. West we might desire to have Mr. West come to Washington in order that he might review the Bureau files and fill in the gaps. I think this should be something that would be very worthwhile and shouldn't take more than two or three days. I would like to recommend that we have West come down here whenever it is convenient to review the Bureau files and prepare a detailed memorandum setting forth his recollections of exactly what the Bureau Agents in the field did or didn't do. I think that it is important to have this for future reference.

LBN:CMC

Attachment

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols
 FROM : M. A. Jones
 SUBJECT: SACCO-VANZETTI MATTER

DATE: March 10, 1951

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Attached is the research conducted by Special Agent W. J. West of the Boston Office. We have gone over the memorandum and it is felt that it is the final answer as far as the Sacco-Vanzetti matter is concerned.

case summary

Briefly, the Bureau had no interest in Sacco and Vanzetti prior to their arrest except for the fact that their names appeared on the mailing list of an anarchist publication. We conducted no investigation. In regard to the statements by two former Agents that the Bureau took a very active part in the Sacco-Vanzetti affair, Agent West set forth the facts indicating that neither of these Agents had anything to do with the matter, and furthermore that the reputations of both of them were exceptionally bad.

The other contention that the Bureau withheld information which might have proved the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti is completely disproved. As Mr. West points out, there is absolutely nothing in the files either in Boston or Washington which would indicate this.

Agent West did a very excellent job in this regard.

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MEMORANDA

Re: Sacco-Vanzetti Matter

The statement set forth in this memorandum is a reply to statements appearing on pages 272 to 281, Chapter 24, captioned "Business As Usual Under A New Attorney General," in the book entitled "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," by Max Lowenthal, New York City, 1950.

The pages referred to above cover his allusions to the Sacco-Vanzetti case in Massachusetts.

In those pages the following statement occurs:

The Bureau of Investigation made use of opportunities to assist in State cases against radicals, even when the specific indictments had nothing to do with the issue of radicalism. The best-known example of this was the Sacco-Vanzetti case, in Massachusetts. Two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco, a cobbler, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, were under Bureau of Investigation surveillance because of their beliefs in radical theories.

The two men were tried and convicted for the murder of payroll guards in South Braintree, Mass. In the course of proceedings to secure their retrial and freedom, on grounds that included the contention that an unjust verdict had been obtained by appeals to prejudice during a period of anti-radical hysteria, affidavits were submitted by two former Bureau of Investigation agents, men with years of service in its Boston branch office. Their statements included the following:

"Instructions were received from the Chief of the Bureau of the Department of Justice in Washington from time to time in reference to the Sacco-Vanzetti case....

"The understanding in this case between the agents of the Department of Justice in Boston and the (State's) District Attorney followed the usual custom, that the Department of Justice would help the District Attorney to secure a conviction, and would help the agents of the

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Department of Justice to secure information that they might desire."

The agents said that the Bureau used the State criminal trial as a means of securing admissions by the defendants that they were believers in anarchism, so that the Bureau might get them deported if they were acquitted of the murder charge. To this end, the Federal police bureau gave the State's attorney "information about the radical activities of Sacco and Vanzetti to be used in their cross-examination." The counsel for the defense did not receive, until after the conviction, the affidavits of the two former agents providing information about the part the Bureau had secretly played in the murder trial.

Bureau agents who worked on the case for Washington headquarters and attended the murder trial in its behalf were themselves sure, so their two former colleagues said in affidavits, that the defendants "had nothing whatever to do with the South Braintree murders." The Boston agents of the Bureau recognized that "their conviction was the result of cooperation between the Boston agents of the Department of Justice and the District Attorney." Furthermore, the affidavits said, "it was the opinion of the Department agents here that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men."

According to the affidavits, everything that the Bureau's Boston branch knew was also known to the Bureau in Washington, the former keeping the latter fully informed; the correspondence between the two on the Sacco-Vanzetti case was voluminous, the agents said.

Sacco and Vanzetti were executed on August 23, 1927.

After a careful review of the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation at Washington, relating to the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and to other matters deemed possibly to have a pertinent interest, this statement has been prepared.

Attempted Holdup at Bridgewater, Massachusetts,
December 24, 1918.

Early on the morning of December 24, 1918, a number of men, allegedly of foreign appearance, in an automobile, blocked the passage of a truck containing the payroll of the White Shoe Company at Bridgewater. Two men in the street tried to capture the truck. Their shots were answered by those in the payroll truck and both men fled back to their car and escaped.

Michael Stewart, Chief of Police of that town, and Captain Proctor, of Massachusetts State Police, continued the investigation for some months in endeavoring to trace the automobile used in the alleged attempted holdup. ("The Sacco-Vanzetti Case," by Oswald K. Fraenkel, p. 10)

**Holdup and Murders at South Braintree, Massachusetts,
April 15, 1920.**

At about 9:30 am, April 15, 1920, Frederick Parmenter, paymaster, and Alessandro Serardelli, a guard, both employees of the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company, while carrying a payroll of approximately \$15,000, from one building of the company to another, were shot and killed by several men and the payroll stolen, the escape of the highwaymen being made in a Buick automobile.

A doctor in a nearby town reported the theft of his automobile shortly before the Bridgewater offense of December 24, 1919, and that Buick, suspected of having been used in the holdup, was found abandoned in the woods near Bridgewater two days after the South Braintree offense of April 15, 1920.

Chief of Police Sullivan of Braintree did little investigative work, if any, on these cases after April 15, 1920, and the investigation was carried on thenceforth by Captain Prester, of the Massachusetts State Police, and Chief of Police Michael Stewart of Bridgewater. Their efforts were directed towards locating a group of Italians with an automobile. On April 17, 1920, they ascertained one Mike Boda, of Bridgewater, had taken his car to the garage of one Johnson, at West Bridgewater, and arrangements were made with Johnson to notify the police if he called for the car. (Ibid., pp. 10-11)

Arrests of Sacco and Vanzetti

On the evening of May 5, 1920, four Italians called for this unlicensed car at the Johnson garage at East Bridgewater and the police were notified by Mrs. Johnson. It later developed that the four men were Mike Boda, Riccardo Orciani, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. Orciani and Boda were on a motorcycle and Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on a trolley car by the Boston, Massachusetts, Police Department, and were taken to the Bridgewater, Massachusetts, Police Department. Orciani was apprehended the following day at his place of employment but was discharged on proof he had been employed on April 15, 1920. Boda was never seen thereafter.

When arrested Sacco had in his possession a .32 Colt pistol with cartridges and Vanzetti a .38 Harrington and Richardson revolver with no extra cartridges but a number of loose shotgun shells. (Ibid., pp. 11-13)

Conviction of Vanzetti for Crime at Bridgewater,
December 24, 1919.

June 11, 1920, at Plymouth, Massachusetts, indictment was returned in the State Court charging Vanzetti with intent to rob and with intent to kill. Trial at Plymouth, in Plymouth County, was before Judge Webster Thayer and a jury. The Commonwealth was represented by Frederick G. Kutzmann, District Attorney. Attorney John P. Vahay, of Plymouth, represented Vanzetti. Trial lasted from June 22, 1920, to July 1, 1920. The defendant was not placed on the stand. Found guilty he was sentenced on August 16, 1920, to a term of twelve to fifteen years in State Prison. (Ibid., p. 14)

**Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti for South Braintree
Offense of April 15, 1920.**

On September 11, 1920, indictments returned by a Norfolk County Grand Jury at Dedham, Massachusetts, charged Sacco and Vanzetti with the murders of April 15, 1920. Trial was held at Dedham, Massachusetts, from May 31, 1921, to July 14, 1921, when a verdict of guilty was returned. The State was represented by Frederick G. Katzmann, District Attorney for Norfolk and Plymouth Counties, and his then assistant, Harold P. Williams, subsequently District Attorney for these counties, United States Attorney for Massachusetts, and presently Judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court.

At the trial Attorney Frederick Moore, a western radical lawyer known in Massachusetts for having represented two radicals on a murder charge at Lawrence, Massachusetts, was chief counsel for Sacco, and Jeremiah J. and Thomas F. McInerney, brothers, well known Norfolk County practitioners, represented Vanzetti. (Ibid., pp. 14-15)

Attention is invited to the fact that verdicts of guilty were returned on July 14, 1921.

Motions for New Trials for Sacco and Vanzetti Following Convictions.

From November 2, 1921, when first motion for a new trial as against weight of the evidence was argued before Judge Webster Thayer, until October 1, 1924, when the Thayer decision denied all motions, some five supplementary motions had been filed and argued.

On May 12, 1926, conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti, which had been up on appeal, was affirmed by the Supreme Judicial Court.

On May 26, 1926, another motion based on an alleged confession of one Medeiros, a convict under sentence of death, was entered and subsequently denied, appealed and denial affirmed by the Supreme Court on April 5, 1927.

Sentences of death were imposed by Judge Thayer on Sacco and Vanzetti on April 9, 1927.

William G. Thompson, of Boston, a conservative and prominent attorney, came into the case in or about January, 1923, and argued motions and appeals thereafter until sometime in or about August, 1927, before the decision of the Advisory Committee of the Governor of Massachusetts had been made public, when he retired from the case. (Ibid., pp. 10-24)

Administrative Setup of U. S. Department of Justice
and its Bureau of Investigation in 1920 and 1921.

On April 15, 1920, when the South Braintree offense occurred, A. Mitchell Palmer was Attorney General of the United States. Mr. William J. Flynn was Director of the Bureau of Investigation and Mr. John Edgar Hoover was Special Assistant to the Attorney General. Mr. George F. Lamb was Special Agent in Charge of the Bureau's New York City Office and Mr. George E. Kelleher in charge at Boston, the latter succeeded thereafter by Mr. John E. Hanrahan. (Report of U. S. Attorney General, 1920, and statement of writer.)

On March 4, 1921, President Harding placed the Department of Justice under Harry M. Daugherty. On August 23, 1921, Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty placed the Bureau of Investigation under William J. Burns, and Mr. John Edgar Hoover, therefore Special Assistant to the Attorney General, became Assistant Director of the Bureau. (Report of U. S. Attorney General for 1921, p. 126)

Mr. Burns was Director of the Bureau of Investigation from August 23, 1921, to June 14, 1924, when he was superseded by Mr. John Edgar Hoover, our present Director. Director Hoover, of course, actually assumed duties of acting Director on May 10, 1924, when Burns gave up control of the Bureau.

In October, 1921, Mr. Charles A. Bancroft, formerly a deputy United States Marshal, was appointed Special Agent in Charge of the Boston Office of the Bureau of Investigation, replacing John E. Hanrahan. Director Burns on October 3, 1921, appointed Lawrence Letherman as Special Agent in that office. Special Agent Letherman assumed the duties of Assistant Special Agent in Charge until March 4, 1922, when he was appointed Special Agent in Charge, replacing Charles A. Bancroft, who thereafter continued as Special Agent until he resigned in or about 1922.

Special Agent in Charge Hanrahan was continued in the capacity of Special Agent until June 23, 1922, when his resignation was asked. (67-650-16, 23, 35, 37, 38, 42)

Special Agent in Charge Letherman continued in the position from March 4, 1922, until he submitted his resignation on July 11, 1924, at the request of Director J. E. Hoover, dated June 29, 1924. (67-650-3, of July 11, 1924)

**Pertinent Matters Handled by the General Intelligence
Division of the Bureau of Investigation, United States
Department of Justice, in 1920 and 1921.**

The files reviewed, and occasionally referred to in this memorandum, contain numerous reports of the Bureau relative to investigations of anarchists and others during the years 1919 to 1923, generally all made for the purpose of securing information for the Bureau on the following matters:

1. Cooperation with the United States Immigration Service, at that time in the United States Department of Labor, now known as the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service, in the Department of Justice, in the obtaining of evidence concerning alien anarchists who were deportable under the then existing Immigration Acts. Prominent among this classification was the investigation centered at Boston in the so-called "Cronaca Sovversiva" Group of Italian anarchists headed by Luigi Galleani.

2. An endeavor to ascertain the perpetrators of the bomb outrages of June 2, 1919, when the home of Attorney General Palmer at Washington, and other buildings in other sections of the country were bombed.

3. To ascertain the perpetrators of the Wall Street, New York City, bomb explosion of September 16, 1920, when a bomb exploded near the United States Sub-Treasury Building killed more than thirty persons.

4. To prevent the assassination of American diplomatic and consular officers abroad and the bombing of United States embassies and consulates by Sacco-Vanzetti sympathizers. (61-126-796)

Allegation of Aid given by the Bureau to the District Attorney, Dedham, Massachusetts, prior to and during the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, May 31, 1921, to June 14, 1921.

Mr. Lowenthal in his publication states (pp. 279-280):

The Bureau of Investigation made use of opportunities to assist in State cases against radicals, even when the specific indictments had nothing to do with the issue of radicalism. The best known example of this was the Sacco-Vanzetti case, in Massachusetts.

The then District Attorney for Plymouth and Norfolk Counties, Mr. Frederick G. Katmann, and his then assistant, Mr. Harold P. Williams, at no time before the arrests of Sacco and Vanzetti on May 5, 1920, or thereafter from May 5, 1920, up to the date of the guilty verdict on July 14, 1921, sought or received any information from the files of the then Bureau of Investigation concerning the so-called radical activities of the defendants. The only features on which any information was sought, and this was by District Attorney Katmann, was the location of Mike Boda and a check of

b7d

- A. Information sought as to location of Boda and location of \$15,000 stolen in South Braintree Crime.**

In quoting from the affidavits of Special Agents Lawrence Letherman and Frederick J. Weyard, Mr. Lowenthal states (p. 280):

"The understanding in this case between the agents of the Department of Justice in Boston and the (State's) District Attorney followed the usual custom, that the Department of Justice would help the District Attorney to secure a conviction, and that he in turn would help the agents of the Department of Justice to secure information that they might desire."

A review of the files indicates that the only instance from which it might be inferred that District Attorney Katmann was given any cooperation at all up to the time of the conviction of these defendants on July 14, 1921, was the following:

In November, 1920, Special Agent H. J. East, Boston, visited Mr. Katmann for the purpose of arranging to place an informant in the jail and at that time Mr. Katmann stated he would appreciate any information that would lead to the location of Mike Boda and any information that would show the disposition of the \$15,000 stolen at South Braintree. He asked in this connection that if inquiry could be made [redacted] b7D

[redacted] Boston letter of November 28, 1920, requested this information.

New York City Office made this inquiry and [redacted] b7D

(61-126-789)

B. Placing of Informant Domenico Carbone in Dedham Jail.

Bureau files show:

May 14, 1920, George E. Kelleher, then Division Superintendent of the Boston Office of the Bureau, wrote to the Assistant Director of the Bureau, referring to the "Cronaca Sovversiva" group of Italian anarchists and to the bomb explosions of June 2, 1919, reporting the arrests of Sacco and Vanzetti on May 5, 1920. He stated that the Massachusetts State Police had inquired at the office for any information concerning the defendants and were advised that the only thing known of them was that their names appeared upon a subscription list of the "Cronaca Sovversiva." (61-126-789) b7c

October 2, 1920, Special Agent [redacted] Newark, New Jersey, Office submitted a report stating Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a member of the Luigi Galliani "Cronaca Sovversiva" group of anarchists, of which one Aldo Felicani was secretary, was on trial for highway robbery at Plymouth or possibly Boston. This is re alleged activities of Aldo Felicani in June 2/19 bombings. (20-713) (61-126-789)

The name of Nicola Sacco appears upon an unidentified mailing list, presumed to be the mailing

list or subscription list of the Italian anarchist publication "Cronaca Sovversiva" published by Luigi Galleani, of Boston. This was found in the Boston file of Galleani and had been found in a barn on property at 304 Adams Street, Newton, Massachusetts, on the property of Auguste Reesi, an active member of the Galleani group of anarchists. Reesi left the United States in July, 1919, shortly after the June 2, 1919, bomb explosions. (61-1611-3, 61-126-705)

On another mailing list, supposed to be that of "La Jacques", found at Paterson, New Jersey, February 14, 1920, appears the name of "Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Success Lane, Plymouth." (61-4645, 61-126-709)

In November, 1920, pursuant to instructions from George F. Lamb, Division Superintendent of the Bureau at New York City, Special Agent W. J. West, Boston (Boston at that time being a sub-office of the New York Division), "inquired of District Attorney Katzmans if arrangements could be made without interference in his case to place an informant in the Dedham Jail, solely for the purpose of seeing if any clue or clues could be obtained to the perpetrators of that outrage (Wall Street Bomb Explosion, September 16, 1920). A conference was had with Mr. Katzmans and Sheriff Capen at Dedham, Massachusetts, and both saw no objection to the same...." "In accordance with that arrangement the informant reported to the Boston office from Mr. Lamb and was placed in Dedham Jail. He was instructed carefully that he was not to approach Mr. Sacco, nor was he under any circumstances to refer to anarchist activities, but was to let the man approach him. On December 1, 1920, a complaint was made from the jail that through his haste to secure information he had disclosed himself and rendered himself useless. On December 3, 1920, he was taken out of there and directed to report to Mr. Lamb" (at New York City). (61-126-705)

October 18, 1920, Mr. John B. Harrahan, Special Agent in Charge, Boston, wrote Division Superintendent Lamb, New York City, "Referring to suggestions of Mr. Flynn (Director of Bureau of Investigation at that time) and yourself that Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco be worked on in connection with the Wall Street Bomb Explosion, it is desired to inform you that Sacco has not yet been sentenced and that Vanzetti's followers and sympathizers are active at the present time in

attempting to secure a new trial (on Bridgewater conviction) for him so there does not seem much possibility of obtaining any information from them by direct methods. (61-126-789)

On January 12, 1921, Frederick Mera and William J. Callahan (letter of Wreighton, Massachusetts), counsel for Sacco, addressed a letter to Special Agent W. J. Vest, Boston, advising they had been informed the addressee had placed one Dominick Carbanari in Bridhan Jail with instructions "to act in the capacity of steel pigeon on the above named Nicola Sacco; that he was held there in that capacity for upwards of a week," and inquired as to his identity and his reason for being there. No answer was made but the letter was transmitted to Division Superintendent Lamb on January 17, 1921. (202600-416-13, 61-126-789)

C. Other miscellaneous activities of the Bureau during the same period re Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Review of the Bureau's files shows the following: b7c

September 30, 1920, Special Agent [redacted] Boston, submitted a report on the personal history of Bartolomeo Vanzetti, obtained from the records of the Massachusetts State Prison. (61-165-789)

On October 11, 1920, John B. Manrahan, then Special Agent in Charge at Boston, in response to an inquiry from the Bureau dated October 5, 1920, advised that Vanzetti is not a citizen of the United States but a declarant, and asked whether it was desired a brief be submitted to the United States Immigration Service, then in the Department of Labor, looking toward deportation proceedings, because of Vanzetti's conviction of the Bridgewater offense. (22-4358, 61-126-789)

In reply to the above the Bureau, on October 19, 1920, advised him it should be ascertained whether he was convicted of a crime of moral turpitude within five years after his arrival in the United States so as to bring him within the Immigration Acts of May 5, 1917, and October 16, 1918. (22-4358, 61-126-789) b7c

On October 13, 1920, Special Agent [redacted]

b7c
Boston, submitted a report in compliance with instructions from then Special Agent in Charge Burdhan. Boston, who transmitted to [redacted] letter of October 22, 1920, from then Division Superintendent George F. Lamb, New York City Office. This report covers the personal history of Nicola Sacco, who had been arrested May 5, 1920, and at that time was in Dedham, Massachusetts, Jail awaiting trial. (61-5-section 10, formerly 211205-34)

Allegation of Surveillance of Sacco and Vanzetti by the Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. Lowenthal in his book (p. 280) states:

Two Italian immigrants, Nicola Sacco, a cobbler, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, a fish peddler, were under Bureau of Investigation surveillance because of their belief in radical theories.

The writer of this memorandum states that nowhere in the mass of files reviewed is there the slightest intimation that either Sacco or Vanzetti, or both, were ever the objects of "surveillance" at any time by the Bureau of Investigation. Up to the time of their arrest on May 5, 1920, the only information concerning them was the appearance of their names on subscription lists of anarchist papers.

Alleged Giving of Information to State District Attorney to be used by him in cross-examination of Sacco and Vanzetti in trial. May 31 to July 14, 1921.

Concerning the above allegation, Mr. Lowenthal in his book (p. 280) writes:

The agents (Letherman and Weyand) said that the Bureau used the State criminal trial as a means of securing admissions by the defendants that they were believers in anarchism, so that the Bureau might get them deported if they were acquitted of the murder charge. To this end, the Federal police Bureau gave the State's attorney information about the radical activities of Sacco and Vanzetti to be used in their cross-examination." The counsel for the defense did not receive, until after the conviction, the affidavits of the two former agents (Letherman and Weyand) providing information about the part the Bureau had secretly played in the murder trial.

The above allegation is refuted in the preceding section of this writing.

The Bureau did not give the State's attorney information concerning the so-called radical activities of the defendants nor was there any need to do so as that information was brought out at the trial by their own counsel.

On July 5, 1921, while Vanzetti was on the stand in direct examination, "the question of radicalism came for the first time into the case." The subject of the political beliefs of the defendants had not entered into the case of the State until after the defense had opened. "Whether to bring in this topic had been the subject of serious discussion among counsel for the defense and John W. McNamara (for the defense) was called in for his opinion. He believed, as was later disclosed before the Lowell Committee, that the case made out by the prosecution was such as to necessitate full disclosure by the defendants of the reasons for their acts (at time of arrest on May 5, 1920), even if that disclosure involved bringing before the jury their radical beliefs." Thus arose the consciousness of guilt controversy of the case, and appears first in J. J. McNamara's (counsel for defense) direct examination of Vanzetti. (See "The Sacco-Vanzetti Case" by Osmond K. Fraenkel, pp. 69-70)

The above testimony by the defense was deemed necessary to account for the finding of the men armed at the time of their arrest on May 5, 1920, and to explain alleged false statements to Chief of Police Michael Stewart, of Br' dewater, at that time, which statements defense claimed were made to protect friends and the existence of radical literature in their possession. (Ibid., pp. 69-70)

Affidavits of Agents Frederick J. Weyand
and Lawrence Ketherman

Dr. Lowenthal states: (page 200)

"The two men were tried and convicted for the murder of payroll guards in South Braintree, Mass. In the course of proceedings to secure their retrial and freedom, on grounds that included the contention that an unjust verdict had been obtained by appeals to prejudice during a period of anti-radical hysteria, affidavits were submitted by two former Bureau of Investigation agents, men with years of service in its Boston branch office. Their statements included the following:

"Instructions were received from the Chief of the Bureau of the Department of Justice in Washington from time to time in reference to the Sacco-Vanzetti case---

"The understanding in this case between the Agents of the Department of Justice in Boston and the (State's) District Attorney followed the usual custom, that the Department of Justice would help the District Attorney to secure a conviction, and that he in turn would help the agents of the Department to secure information that they might desire."

Both these affidavits because of their length are not being set out in full in this memorandum, but copies of them will be found in Bureau file 61-126-705, attached to letter from Boston office to the Bureau dated July 17, 1926, commenting on them.

They are described in lesser detail in the book of Fraenkel, "The Sacco-Vanzetti Case," at page 126-129.

It is intended now to present only a few of the discrepancies in them.

Weyand states that the informer, Carbone, was placed in the jail under an arrangement among the District Attorney, the Sheriff, and former Agent Feri F. Weiss. Weiss, who resigned November 1, 1919,

never knew the informant, never had any knowledge of him, and had nothing to do with placing him in Dedham Jail. (61-126-705, 721)

Weyand stated on page three of his affidavit:

"We also assigned a certain 'under-cover' man, as we called them, to win the confidence of the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee, and to become one of the collectors."

That is not so. No such informant was ever used in the Sacco-Vanzetti Committee. (61-126-705, 721)

On page four of his affidavit he states:

"I was assigned to cover the trial for the purpose of reporting the proceedings and picking up any information I could in regard to the radical activities of Sacco and Vanzetti or of any of their friends. Mr. West also attended the trial for the same purpose." b7c

The trial, May 31 to June 14, 1921, was not attended so far as can be ascertained from the records by Mr. Weyand or Mr. West. It was attended by Special Agent [redacted] who had been sent from New York City for that purpose, and by Special Agent [redacted] then of Boston and now of Pittsburgh. [redacted] also was accompanied by two members of the Bomb Squad of the New York City Police Department. Mr. Weyand apparently attended two hearings on the supplementary motions for new trial on October 20, 1921, and November 5, 1921. (61-126-705, 721)

Mr. Letherman in his affidavit, second paragraph, states:

"While I was Post Office Inspector I cooperated to a considerable extent with the Agents of the Department of Justice, in Boston, in matters of joint concern, including the Sacco-Vanzetti Case." (61-126-705, 721)

Suffice it to say that Mr. Letherman was removed as Post Office Inspector in 1915 and nothing was known of either Sacco or Vanzetti until their arrest on May 5, 1920.

In a still later section of his affidavit he states:

"I knew that Mr. West cooperated with Mr. Katzmann, the District Attorney, during the trial of the case, and later with Mr. Williams." (61-126-705, 721)

Mr. Letherman was not appointed until October 3, 1921, at which time the trial had ended on June 12, 1921, and the writer has grave doubts that Mr. Letherman ever was sufficiently interested to read the file up to the date of October 3, 1921. (61-126-705, 721)

As an indication of the condition of his mental processes, Mr. Letherman states:

"One of the men employed by West at one stage of the Sacco-Vanzetti case was named Shaughnessy; he was subsequently convicted of highway robbery and is now serving a term in Massachusetts State Prison." (61-126-705, 721)

That statement is not only inaccurate but decidedly untrue. Shaughnessy, an informant, was used back in 1918 by the Boston Office in the administration of George E. Kelleher, Special Agent in Charge, and of A. Bruce Stielacki, Chief of the Bureau at that time. He was summarily dismissed for violation of some regulation in 1918 and thereafter had no connection in any way with the Bureau. (67-126-705, 1)

A complete detailed review of the Letherman affidavit will be found in Bureau file 61-126-721, under Part III, thereof.

April 4, 1927, Special Agent John A. Dowd, Boston, wrote the Bureau advising that on that date Attorney William O. Thompson had interviewed John B. Hanrahan, former Special Agent in Charge, Boston, but he submitted no affidavit. That former Special Agent in Charge stated Mr. Thompson advised him that he, Thompson, discovered Letherman was wrong in his dates in stating alleged cooperation between the office of Post Office Inspector and the Bureau in the Sacco-Vanzetti Case as there was a lapse of years after Letherman left the Post Office Department. Thompson stated he, therefore, had the affidavit amended. Letherman, says Thompson, then told him he intended to aver that his knowledge of the case came while he, Letherman, was with the William J. Burns Detective Agency "For the reason that the Burns Agency at that time was investigating for A. Mitchell Palmer (Attorney General of the United States) the Wall Street Bomb Explosion and was also investigating the Sacco-Vanzetti Case." Hanrahan is also reported to have told Attorney Thompson that Letherman had been dismissed by the Post Office Department and that Heyand, "who had always been a bootlegger" had been dismissed by the Bureau. Mr. Thompson is reported as having said he was very glad to know of those two situations but in a way regretted them and did not realize that such was the true situation. Mr. Hanrahan pointed out other discrepancies in the affidavits.

b7c

On August 23, 1927, former Special Agent [redacted] Boston, submitted to the Boston Office an affidavit stating that on August 22, 1927, in answer to a note received at his home on Sunday,

August 21, 1927, he met at the Hotel Bellevue, Boston, one Thomas O'Connor, who apparently represented counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti, but did not furnish an affidavit. [redacted] states that he told O'Connor that after the arrests of May 5, 1927, he obtained at the State Prison, from the records, the history of Vanzetti; that he, [redacted] had never before the arrests known anything of Sacco or Vanzetti; that he, [redacted] on the date of the Fall Street Bomb Explosion had been in Milford, Massachusetts, checking on anarchists and there for the first time, from the Chief of Police, learned that Sacco had been formerly a resident of that town; that he, [redacted] knew nothing of the connection between Sacco and Vanzetti and Gallant; that he, [redacted] did not recall ever hearing the innocence or guilt of these men discussed in the Boston Office; that he, [redacted] heard nothing of an informant being placed in the jail at Dedham until after it occurred and had no knowledge of its details; and that he, [redacted] said "if I knew anything that would in any way prove the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti or anything that would in any way help save a life, I would have no hesitancy in telling him (O'Connor).

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

4 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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ANDREA SALCEDO

Mr. Keworth in "The Federal Bureau of Investigation," 20 pages 72-73 and 122, refers to Andrea Salcedo, his arrest, detention and suicide on May 2, 1930, at the Bureau's New York City Division, but makes no mention on pages 172, 182, 221, which referred to the Boston office and the Sacco-Vanzetti case, concerning Salcedo. In fact no one at the Boston office had any knowledge of the detention of Salcedo or of his death until the press announced it on May 4, 1930, the day before the arrests of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Andrea Salcedo and Roberto Elia were prominently mentioned at the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti.

"The group of Italian radicals to which Sacco and Vanzetti belonged was concerned about this confinement, contributed money to assist the two men and late in April, 1930, sent VANSETTI to New York to find out what Salcedo's situation really was. Vanzetti made the trip and conferred with the prisoner's friends. He was told among other things that a new series of governmental raids should be expected around May 1, (1930), and was advised to hide away all radical literature with the whereabouts of which he might be familiar." (Gordon K. FRANKEL, "The Sacco-Vanzetti Case," pages 11-12)

Bureau files show that Andrea Salcedo was a New York anarchist who did some printing of radical documents and who appears to have been associated with Roberto ELIA. Near the home of A. Mitchell Palmer, Washington, bombed on June 2, 1919, were found a number of pink circulars, or manifestoes as they are called among the anarchists, entitled "PLAINFORDS." Investigation indicated this circular was printed in the shop of ANDREA SALCEDO, who had some assistance from Elia, and Salcedo confessed during his confinement in the New York City office his printing of the circulars. May 2, 1930, Salcedo committed suicide by jumping from the fourteenth floor of the office building. During the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti evidence of their activities on behalf of Sacco and Vanzetti was brought out. (61-126-730)

Bureau files indicate Vanzetti was friendly with Salcedo, and also with ELIA, as both had been employed with SALICANI's "GRONACA SOVVERSIVA." Vanzetti had conducted meetings for them among the anarchists in Massachusetts to aid them in their difficulty with the Government, and to engage for them an attorney in place of Attorney Donato who represented them, arranging with LUIGI QUINTILIANI, of New York City to have Attorney Edward De Silva represent them. (61-126-710)

During the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, May 21, 1927, to July 14, 1927, claim was made that just prior to May 4, 1920, Vanzetti made his trip to New York City to obtain new counsel for Salas and that Sacco and Vanzetti arrests on May 2, 1920, in their opinion, were made because of these activities and their political opinions. Salas and Rita, who occupied the same room with Salas in the Bureau's office at New York City, had been in custody approximately six weeks. Salas was apparently there with the approval of his attorney, one Donato, who had an office in the same building. Salas committed suicide early in the morning of May 2, 1920. (62-18674-0)

Quoted Opinions of Bureau Agents
in the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Mr. Lowenthal states: (page 300)

"Bureau agents who worked on the case for Washington Headquarters and attended the murder trial in its behalf were themselves sure, so their two former colleagues said in affidavits, that the defendants had nothing whatever to do with the South Braintree murders." The Boston Agents of the Bureau recognized that "their conviction was the result of cooperation between the Boston agents of the Department of Justice and the District Attorney." Furthermore, the affiants said, "it was the opinion of the Department agents here (Boston) that a conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men."

The above is opinion evidence and is not to be commented on other than to say, so far as is known from the files, there is no indication of anyone expressing any definite opinion.

**REFUSAL TO PERMIT ATTORNEY WILLIAM G. THOMPSON,
COUNSEL FOR SACCO AND VANZETTI TO REVIEW BOSTON
BUREAU FILES**

July 3, 1926, Attorney William G. Thompson wrote S. S. Attorney General John E. Sargent:

"At the suggestion of Senator Butler (Massachusetts) I am writing you to inquire whether Mr. William J. West, now a Special Agent of the Department of Justice in Boston, may be authorized to talk with me concerning the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and to show me whatever documents and correspondence are on file in his office dealing with the investigation made by the Boston agents before, during, and after the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, which occurred in June and July, 1921." (61-126-688)

July 3, 1926, Director Hoover suggested to Attorney General Sargent that he might want to consider communication from then U. S. Attorney Harold P. Williams, Boston, dated July 1, 1926. That letter from Mr. Williams to Mr. Hoover said, in part, commenting on prior report of Special Agent West:

"It is not a report, in my opinion, which should be submitted to counsel for the defendants. It sets forth information which should be regarded as confidential and contains nothing which would be of any benefit in the present litigation to the defendants. Unless Mr. William G. Thompson, who I assume was the attorney who took up the matter with the Attorney General, has some other specific matter in mind, I am clearly of the opinion there is nothing to be disclosed to him." (61-126-624, 623)

Summaries of reports in the files were subsequently sent the Director, particularly one sent the Bureau October 1, 1926. (61-126-721, 732)

An additional summary dated January 26, 1927, was sent the Director, prepared by the writer. (61-126-745X)

This agitation for opening of files continued up to within a few days of the execution of the defendants. In the meantime the Director had made the voluminous search set out more in detail in that portion of this memorandum which deals with the question as to whether or not the files contained any evidence of guilt or innocence.

August 8, 1927, a memorandum for the files, was prepared by Director Hoover, stating in part:

"Mr. Farnum (acting Attorney General) stated that he felt that the attitude of the Department in refusing access to the files had been entirely proper, as there was nothing contained therein that would be of assistance to either Sacco or Vanzetti in the trial of the case in Massachusetts." (62-120-700)

July 12, 1928, Director Hoover telephoned the Boston Office and instructed Special Agent in Charge John A. Dowd to communicate with Attorney Thompson relative to his request for information from Bureau files and ascertain exactly what he wanted and to furnish Mr. Thompson with such information as he felt was entirely proper and should Mr. Thompson make request for any information about which he, Dowd, had a doubt should be supplied him, should inform Mr. Thompson he would submit the request to Washington and it would be passed upon there. Mr. Dowd called back, stating he had called Mr. Thompson for the purpose of arranging an appointment so that he, Dowd, and Special Agent West might call on Mr. Thompson. Mr. Thompson inquired whether he, Dowd, had received instructions to turn over all of the files in the Sacco-Vanzetti case to him. Mr. Dowd informed Mr. Thompson he had not received instructions to that effect but had received instructions to see him and obtain from him detailed information as to what he wanted and to furnish the same if it was available. Mr. Thompson became very abusive and accused the Department of having "railroaded" Sacco and Vanzetti. Mr. Dowd states he did not enter into any controversy with Mr. Thompson but let him do all the talking. The result was that Mr. Thompson refused to see Mr. Dowd and engaged in this abusive attitude. The result was that Mr. Thompson never saw the files.

Did the Bureau's files at any time contain any evidence of the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti?

Over the course of years the Bureau and its local offices have made several reviews of their files for the purpose of ascertaining whether there was any evidence relating to the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti.

When the affidavits of former agents, Frederick J. Weyand and Lawrence Letherman, dated July 1, 1926, and July 8, 1926, respectively, became public, search was made because of a letter dated July 3, 1926, from William G. Thompson, of counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti, to then Attorney General John C. Bargent. At the suggestion of Senator Butler of Massachusetts, Mr. Thompson wrote to the Attorney General asking for authority to talk to Special Agent J. V. West, of Boston. Thompson wanted to see the official reports and correspondence in file dealing with the investigations before and during the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, present Director, under date of July 6, 1926, transmitted copy of the Thompson communication to Boston. July 8, 1926, then Special Agent in Charge John A. Dowd, wrote Director Hoover that he failed to note any evidence that would aid Mr. Thompson, nor do the files show anything touching on the guilt or innocence of the defendants in the murder case. Mr. Harold P. Williams, at that time United States Attorney at Boston, and former prosecutor of Sacco and Vanzetti concurred. (61-126-700)

July 15, 1926, Mr. Harold P. Williams wrote Director J. Edgar Hoover, "absolutely nothing has been found which would be of any assistance to either of the present defendants (Sacco and Vanzetti), or which could be made a basis for any action on the part of their counsel to obtain any new trial." (61-126-704)

October 1, 1926, Special Agent in Charge John A. Dowd, Boston, sent to the Director, in compliance with the latter's request of September 16, 1926, a full and complete summary of the files in the Boston Office relating in any way to that case. (61-126-72)

January 26, 1927, a memorandum on the case was prepared for the Director by Special Agent W.J. West, Boston, stating in part, "There is absolutely nothing in the files of the Boston Office of the Bureau of evidentiary value that would shed any light upon the guilt or innocence of the defendants." (61-126-735X)

August 6, 1927, Mr. Harold Nathan, Assistant Director, prepared and submitted to Director Hoover "an exhaustive review of all Bureau files, including all reports, letters, documents and all papers of any kind and nature whatsoever pertaining to the Sacco-

Yanetti matter, and beg to report that there is nothing therein which would in any way bear directly or indirectly upon the guilt or innocence of the subjects in this case." (61-126-720)

August 15, 1937, Thomas SWILLY addressed a memorandum to the Director stating "I have made an exhaustive review of all (Bureau) files relating in any way to Sacco and Yanetti. I have not found anything bearing directly or indirectly upon the guilt or innocence of these two men." (61-126-723)

August 15, 1937, Special Agent W. J. Frost, Boston, as directed on August 11, 1937, submitted a memo without finding any evidence as to guilt or innocence. (61-126-727)

August 16, 1937, Mr. Frederick E. Farr, then U. S. Attorney, Boston, reported he reviewed files with Mr. J. L. Cronan, then Agent in Charge, Boston, and found nothing of any substantial importance. He adds, "I report, therefore, that there is in my judgment, nothing in this office regarding the case which should be given the public." (61-126-801)

August 12, 1937, J. H. BILLY, then Special Agent in Charge, New York City, advised Bureau he read all office files and found nothing relating to their guilt or innocence or any indication of collusion between State and Government officials. (61-126-801)

August 15, 1937, E. A. Jacob and John AIXONE, Assistant U. S. Attorneys, New York City, advise Attorney General they have read all the files of the New York City office of the Bureau and they show nothing as to innocence or guilt or any indication of collusion. (202600-418-221; 61-126-802)

August 17, 1937, Director Hoover transmitted to Mr. George E. Farnum, Acting Attorney General in the absence of Attorney General John O. Sargent at Ludlow, Vermont, reviews of Bureau files at Washington, New York City and Boston that would in any way relate the case. Mr. Hoover suggested also that Departmental Attorneys at Washington and U. S. Attorneys at New York City and Boston read same and indicate whether "there was any information contained in those files that would give any indication of evidence as to the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Yanetti and further to ascertain any information that might indicate any alleged collusion between the Federal and State authorities in this case." Director Hoover suggested they be sent to Mr. Sargent at Ludlow. (61-126-798)

August 15, 1937, Attorney F. M. Parrish, wrote Acting Attorney General A. G. Farnum, Mr. Parrish reports concerning Washington Bureau files: (61-126-796)

"Such files contain nothing which bears in any way upon the guilt or innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti as to either the Bridgewater or South Braintree crimes. There is nothing in the files to indicate that the agents of the Department's Boston Office had any opinion prior to or during either trial as to their guilt or innocence."

"The files further show that the only cooperation furnished by Agents of this Department in the investigation or preparation for trial of either case was the action of the Boston Office in the Fall of 1920 in writing, at the request of the State District Attorney, to the New York Office of the Bureau

b7d

Partners in this request the New York Office

"The files contain numerous reports relative to the investigation of anarchists and other radicals 1919 to 1922 for purpose of

- (1) Cooperation with the Department of Labor aliens who were anarchists and deportable.
- (2) Perpetrators bombing home of A. G. Palmer 6/2/19.
- (3) Perpetrators of Wall Street bomb 1920.
- (4) To prevent assassination of American Diplomatic and Consular Officers and bombing of embassies and consulates abroad."

FILE REFERENCES

Among the pertinent Bureau files reviewed were the following:

BUREAU FILE NUMBER

SUBJECT

61-5
61-34
61-71
61-120
61-120
61-344

61-373
61-331
61-317
61-318
61-1161

61-1611
62-18074

Wall Street Bomb Explosion
Weekly Confidential Reports
Radical Activities, Philadelphia
Weekly Confidential Reports
Sacco and Vanzetti
LEON GILKANI and

"CRONACA SOVVERIVA"
Sacco-Vanzetti and "The Worker"
Same as above
World War Veterans Mass Meetings
Workers Party of America
Bombing of home of Judge
Webster Thayer, 8/27/32
Augusto Rossi, Anarchist
Andrea Salcedo